

# PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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SIXPENCE

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## WHAT DID GAITSKELL TELL NORSTAD? NATO as a nuclear Power

by EMRYS HUGHES, MP

**I** WAS not surprised on Monday when Mr. Edward Heath, who now speaks for the Foreign Office, announced that General Norstad had not informed the British Government that he intended making his speech asking for NATO to have nuclear weapons.

Why should he? The Americans regard the British Government as its very humble servant.

And quite rightly so. For hasn't Macmillan handed the Holy Loch over to them for their Polaris base and virtually made it a part of the USA?

After the surrender of the Holy Loch and virtually the Firth of Clyde to America how can one be surprised when the Amer-





not informed the British Government that he intended making his speech asking for NATO to have nuclear weapons.

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And quite rightly so. For hasn't Macmillan handed the Holy Loch over to them for their Polaris base and virtually made it a part of the USA?

After the surrender of the Holy Loch and virtually the Firth of Clyde to America how can one be surprised when the American General in command of NATO comes along with some new proposition without telling the British Foreign Office that he is going to do so?

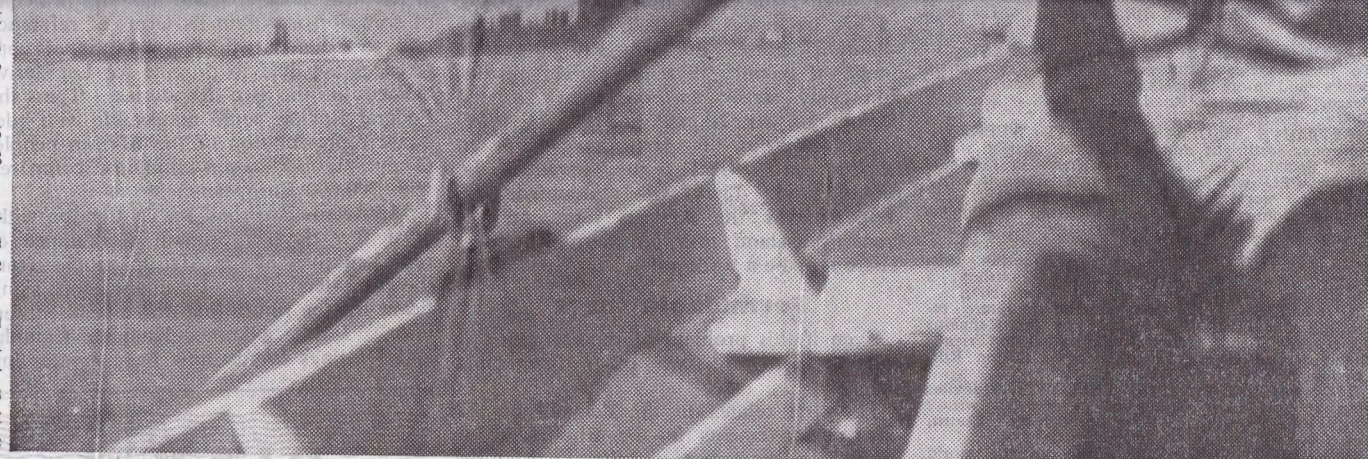
In reply to my supplementary question Mr. Heath said he was not even going to remonstrate with General Norstad over his failure to tell the British Government about the new proposal and his lapse in assuming that the British Government no longer existed. The Foreign Office will just wait to put the British Government's point of view, if it has one, until the next meeting of the NATO Council.

Mr. Denis Healey attacked the Government for not speaking for Britain. But what did Mr. Healey expect?

Mr. Macmillan knows that the Labour Front Bench have not put down a vote of censure on the Government, as it should have done, on Polaris. (Incidentally it would be interesting to know what General Norstad said to Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Brown when they met at the House of Commons last week, and what they said to him.)

Actually what General Norstad is asking

□ ON PAGE FOUR



## 'Missiles' error on Radar

THE world nearly ended last week, according to reports from Greenland. In *The Guardian* last Monday, Michael Frayn wrote in his "Miscellany" column:

"Do you know the world nearly ended last week? The early warning radar station at Thule picked up signals which were analysed by the computers there as a flight of missiles coming up over the horizon from Russia and heading in the direction of America.

"The famous red telephone rang at Strategic Air Command headquarters in Nebraska. All over the world SAC crews stood to their planes. Someone in Nebraska signalled Thule for confirmation. There

was no answer—Thule must have been hit already.

"What restrained Free-World, from launching its retaliation weapons during the next half-hour I do not know, unless it was those old-fashioned deterrents, incredulity and funk.

"Whatever it was, it came in handy, for it turned out that Thule had picked up not a squadron of rockets, but a large earth satellite of whose existence Intelligence had apparently failed to inform them, called the moon.

"By the time they had discovered this little error, however, they were prevented from passing the correction on because an iceberg had cut their submarine cable link. Quite a coincidence, eh?"

## Against Polaris

The US submarine "George Washington" has loaded up with missiles at Charleston, South Carolina, and, followed by a boat with a press party, is heading down river for the open sea. Richard Zink of the Committee for Non-violent Action is about to intercept it, but before the two vessels met a coastguard launch seized the rowing boat and took it in tow. Not in the picture, but swimming towards the submarine is Bill Henry; he was spotted and picked up by a naval patrol vessel.

That was on Nov. 15. A week later, on Nov. 22, he was more successful and, with Donald Martin, scrambled aboard the newly-launched submarine "Ethan Allen." The two swimmers, with seven other pacifists, were detained in New Haven State Jail.

The photo was taken by Joe Glynn who was with Richard Zink in the CNVA boat "World Citizen."

Hey! Ho! Come to the

ANNUAL PEACE NEWS

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**AFRICAN LEADERS IN LONDON**

# *This will be the significant conference*

**By Fenner Brockway, MP***Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*

**IT** will be a political miracle if the Review Conference on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland reaches agreement.

This year's constitutional conferences on Kenya and Nyasaland resulted in unexpected success, but the differences in Central Africa are far more intense and fundamental.

Apparently the first snag has been overcome, or, rather, half of it. The snag of African representation. This was decided by the four Governments—the Federal Government and the Governments of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

The Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are still under Colonial Office control. Here the problem has been resolved. The African delegates, although numerically inadequate, will include representation of the mass African movements led by Dr. Banda and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda.

But African representation from the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments is outside Whitehall control. It has been determined by Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. There is not a single delegate who has the confidence of the African people.

The Africans from the Federation were elected to the Legislature by European votes. The Africans from Southern Rhodesia (where the Legislature is all White) are one Chief, and three freak members of Sir Edgar's United Federal Party. The African Party with mass support, the National Democrats, are not represented.

This exclusion of true African representation from Southern Rhodesia, the dominant country in the Federal constitution, may wreck the conference at the beginning. Mr. Nkomo and two other representatives of his party have come to London and threaten to "invade" the proceedings. They will undoubtedly be supported by the African representatives from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. There may be a walk-out.

**Formidable snags**

Even if this problem of representation is solved, there are two other formidable

Nkomo, joined by his colleagues who have come to London, or their arrest on return to their country.

Fortunately there is now evidence that a considerable European opinion in Southern Rhodesia takes a more reasonable view. The British Government would have their support if it insists on an immediate representative round-table conference to consider African claims. This is the only way by which disaster in Southern Rhodesia can be prevented.

In this atmosphere it is impossible to expect the Federal Review to succeed. But there is a final snag much greater than even these difficulties. The snag of the right of the three territories to secede from the present Federation.

We must face the fact that the African representatives from Nyasaland are interested in nothing else. The Africans from the two Rhodesias are interested also, as I have indicated, in immediate majority membership in their Legislatures. Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, will not hear of secession. Sir Edgar Whitehead will not hear of an African majority. How can there be hope of agreement?

My expectation is that this meeting of the Review Conference will break without beginning to reach agreement. The only possible course to keep the Review alive at all will be to concede that the principle of secession is within its terms of reference and to adjourn whilst constitutional conferences are held to provide for Legislative changes in the two Rhodesias. Then the Federal Review could reassemble with adequate representation of the African people. (They number seven millions compared with 300,000 Europeans.)

Meanwhile, we shall see in London within a few days a Summit Conference of representatives of the African peoples from the three territories. It will be more significant for the future than the official conference. Joshua Nkomo, Kenneth Kaunda, and Hastings Banda now have greater im-

portance than Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead.

My plea to Central Africa's coming Prime Ministers is that they will prove to the world that they have a larger constructive vision than the European dictators they are replacing. I hope they will declare their adherence to a much wider Federation, including Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar as soon as responsible Governments with African majorities are established in their own territories and East Africa, and their determination to win full democracy for their peoples with every man and woman having citizenship rights irrespective of their race and colour.

This is the road to eventual racial co-operation in East and Central Africa and to the economic viability of their territories, without which there cannot be an end to the poverty of their peoples.

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**WANTED SOMEONE TO TAKE** over house duties and cooking for two ladies. Vegetarian preferred. Ample time off for meetings, etc. Murphy, 4a The Ridgeway, Golders Green, London, N.W.11.

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**TEACHER AND EXPERIENCED JOURNALIST,** forced to leave South Africa, seeks employment, preferably London area. C. August, c/o. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

This exclusion of true African representation from Southern Rhodesia, the dominant country in the Federal constitution, may wreck the conference at the beginning. Mr. Nkomo and two other representatives of his party have come to London and threaten to "invade" the proceedings. They will undoubtedly be supported by the African representatives from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. There may be a walk-out.

### Formidable snags

Even if this problem of representation is solved, there are two other formidable snags.

The first relates to the demand of the African movements in the Rhodesias for immediate majorities in the Legislatures similar to what Mr. Macleod has already conceded in Nyasaland. The Africans ask that constitutional conferences for the two territories shall sit concurrently with the Federal Review.

Mr. Macleod has met Northern Rhodesia's demands but Southern Rhodesia is another matter. Under the present constitution he cannot intervene. If Sir Edgar Whitehead declines an immediate conference with Africans to provide for adequate representation in the Legislature, the only way in which the London Government can insist is by the drastic course of suspending the constitution and itself summoning the Europeans to meet the Africans round a negotiating table.

The Africans demand this, but one cannot see Sir Edgar accepting such humiliation. It is just possible that by pressure from Whitehall he would agree to speed up changes, but he will have to go very much further than his proposal of five Africans in a Legislature of fifty and an African majority in fifteen years' time.

Frankly, it is difficult to conceive how the conflict between Sir Edgar Whitehead's all-White Government and the African people in South Rhodesia can be resolved by agreement.

Sir Edgar's recent actions and legislative measures—his arrests, his continued imprisonment after 20 months of 43 African leaders, the shooting of 96 Africans in "disturbances" since July, his Vagrancy Act under which 1,500 unemployed have been arrested, his police-state Law and Order Maintenance Bill—all these indicate an attitude with which no conciliation is possible. They point to the early suppression of the National Democratic Party and either the renewed exile of Mr. Joshua

at all times to be within its terms of reference and to adjourn whilst constitutional conferences are held to provide for Legislative changes in the two Rhodesias. Then the Federal Review could reassemble with adequate representation of the African people. (They number seven millions compared with 300,000 Europeans.)

Meanwhile, we shall see in London within a few days a Summit Conference of representatives of the African peoples from the three territories. It will be more significant for the future than the official conference. Joshua Nkomo, Kenneth Kaunda, and Hastings Banda now have greater im-



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

#### Friday, December 2

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7 p.m. Denison Ho., "Which way for unilateralists," youth mtg. N. Kensington YCND.

**MANCHESTER:** 12 midnight to 6 a.m. Left Wing Coffee Ho., Brazenose St. All-night jazz session Tickets 5s. from Tib Lane or the Coffee Ho. Manchester University ND Society. All proceeds to CND and CUCAND.

#### Saturday, December 3

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 2.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Avenue Rd., film show and social. SoF and CND.

**LEEDS:** 2.45 p.m. Church Ho., Albion Pl., Fellowship Party Northern Conference. Policy discussion, all welcome.

**LIVERPOOL 22:** 7.45 p.m. 3A Courtney Rd., Waterloo. Social evening. Bring and buy stall. Adm. 2s. 6d. inc. refreshments. PPU.

**LONDON, N.1:** 3 p.m. Claremont Central Mission, Pentonville Rd., Angel, Islington, Christmas Fair and Social. Opener Vera Brittain.

**LONDON, N.1:** 3 p.m., in conjunction with above, bazaar, art exhibition, talks by Dora Russell, Anthony Bates, etc. Universal-Religion Pacifist Fellowship.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 10.30 a.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., Endsleigh St., assemble for Prisoners for Peace Day Poster Parade. Russell Sq. 11 a.m. Parade from Russell Sq. via Southampton Row, Bloomsbury Way, Charing X Rd., Trafalgar Sq., Cockspur St., Lower Regent St., Piccadilly Circus, Coventry St., Charing X Rd., Bloomsbury Way, Southampton Row, Russell Sq. PPU.

**UPMINSTER, Essex:** 2.30 p.m. Cong. Ch. Hall, Christmas Fair. Hornchurch and Dist. Way to Peace Gp.

#### Sunday, December 4

**CARSHALTON BEECHES:** 3 p.m. 17 Hill Rd., Dorothy Vickers: "Impressions of Kenya." Surrey PPU.

#### Monday, December 5

**LONDON, W.2:** 7.45 p.m. 16 Westbourne Park Rd. (Porchester end). Frank Dawtry: "Violence and Punishment." PPU.

**ST. LEONARD'S-ON-SEA:** 7 p.m. 71 Norman Rd., to meet our new chairman, Mary Wray, followed by discussion: "Our Group Past, Present and Future." PPU.

#### Tuesday, December 6

**SHEFFIELD:** 7.30 p.m. 360 Crookesmoor Rd. Non-Violence Discussion Group No. 3. Sheffield PPU.

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#### Wednesday, December 7

**SOUTHEAST:** 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Boston Ave. Douglas Clark: "Money, Taxes and Armaments."

#### Thursday, December 8

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting Hse., Bush Rd., Leytonstone, Kurt Woerner: "My Impression of England and the English." PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.3:** 8 p.m. Hampstead Town Hall, "Nuclear Disarmament—The Flowing Tide": Pamela Frankau, Stuart Hall, P.M.T. Sheldon-Williams, Sydney Silverman. Adm. free. Hampstead CND.

**LONDON, W.8:** 8 p.m. 18 Campden Grove, London Region CND Non-Violent Study Grp.: "Communism and Fascism Compared." Arnold Barfield.

#### Saturday, December 10

**PONTEFRAC, Yorks.:** 7.15 p.m. Cong. school room. Social. PPU.

#### Sunday, December 11

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 2.15 p.m. Air St. (behind Swan and Edgar), Piccadilly. West End Christmas Poster Parade. CND.

#### Monday, December 12

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Afternoon only. London Appellate Tribunal for CO's. Public admitted.

#### Wednesday, December 14

**BRADFORD:** 7.45 p.m. Mechanics Institute (Cafe). Edward Bray: "Why I resigned from CND." PPU.

#### Thursday, December 15

**LONDON, E.C.3:** 12.15-1.15 p.m. Vestry, St. Michael's Church, Cornhill. Peace Forum, questions and answers to Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Bush Rd., annual gen. mtg. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

#### Monday, December 19

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m., 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6-8 p.m., 6 Endsleigh St. Social evening, Central London PPU.

## Every week!

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### THURSDAYS

**LONDON, E.11:** 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.



By Sybil Morrison

## MORAL DISARMAMENT

*If a disarmament treaty had been signed in 1935, incorporating all the aims of the 1932 Geneva Disarmament Conference, it would certainly not have prevented a second world war. . . The first fallacy is that we can secure peace by armament, and the second fallacy is that we can secure peace by disarmament.—Emery Reves, Sunday Times, November 27, 1960.*

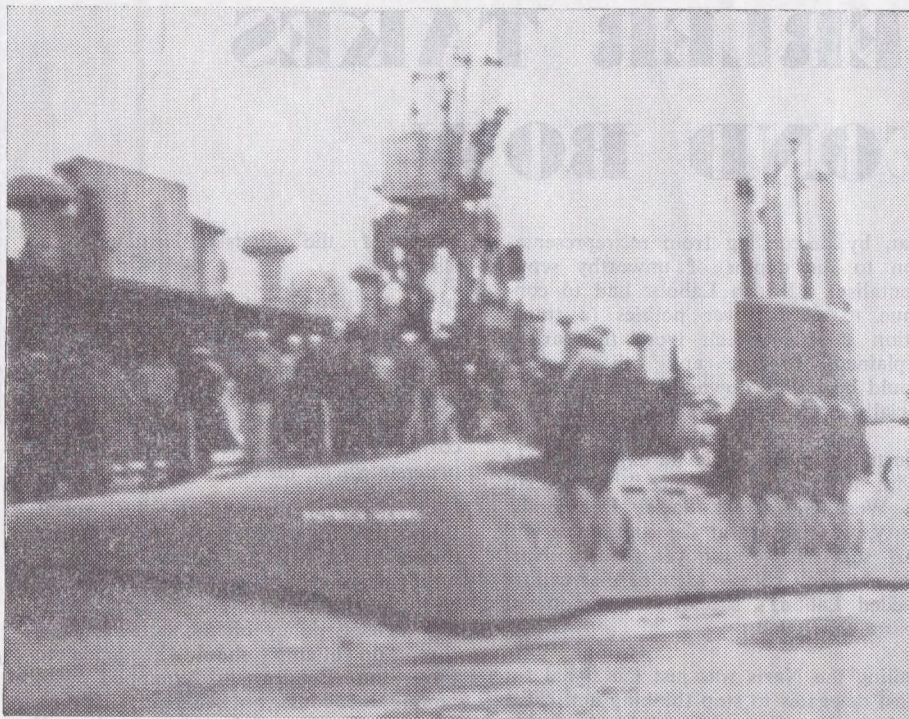
THE words quoted are taken from an article called "To Arm or Disarm" by the author of THE ANATOMY OF PEACE. His argument is not concerned with total disarmament, but with the reduction of armaments proposed at conferences, and by those concerned with nuclear disarmament alone.

He rightly argues that if the political condition of the world makes it possible for one sovereign Great Power to trust the present and future actions of another sovereign Great Power there would be no need for disarmament, because in that case there would be no need for rearmament. He goes on to point out that if it were possible for governments to succeed in signing a treaty of complete nuclear disarmament so that there would not be one nuclear weapon left anywhere, nor the intention to produce one, we should simply be back where we were in 1914 and 1939.

He examines the attempts made to prevent war by disarmament (and it is important to note that the word "disarmament" does not mean total disarmament) and the attempts made to prevent war by heavy armaments designed to deter aggression.

He then comes to the conclusion that peace cannot be achieved by either arming or disarming. It is unfortunate in so interesting an analysis that the issue is confused simply because of the lack of that little word "total" in front of "disarmament." To say that both disarmament and armaments have failed to secure peace, when total disarmament has never been tried, is to evade the real issue.

## Waiting to be boarded by pacifists



With hatches open after test-firing Polaris missiles, the recently-launched nuclear submarine Patrick Henry is seen here back at the shipyards at Groton, Connecticut (U.S.A.) with its crew on deck waiting to repel an attempted boarding by pacifists. This photo, part of a newsreel later shown on US TV, was taken from one of the Committee for Non-violent Action boats which have been active in the launching area since June. Latest CNVA reports appear on another page.

## Australia's Security Flap

From Tom Wardle

AUSTRALIA has been in quite a flurry recently over the matter of security. It started with the revelation that the Australian Army had instituted a course on brain washing. Then came the Gluckman affair when Professor Gluckman, a visiting anthropologist from Manchester University, was refused permission to enter Papua (New Guinea) for research. No reason was given. Some papers, university groups and politicians protested. It was later reported that Professor Gluckman would receive a visa to go to Dutch New Guinea, but in the end he declined this saying that he did not want to be the means of a quarrel between Australia and

radical element which is not prepared to sit meekly by and let the instrumentalities of the modern power state extend their dominance over the lives of men. The Security Service has therefore come in for severe criticism.

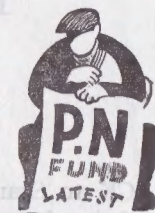
One fair comment in reply to the Press Attache of the Soviet Embassy who wrote about the desirability of peoples of different countries trying to know each other, was the question whether the Soviet Government would be prepared to grant similar facilities to the Australian Embassy in Moscow to distribute literature to schools and libraries.

Since the Russian literature included several speeches by Mr. Khrushchev and other materials on foreign policy would

PEACE NEWS, December 2, 1960—3

## FORBIDDEN WORDS

WOULD you care to see your servants reading Peace News? Would it disturb you to know that a copy of PN had somehow got below stairs, and that your cook and housemaids were huddled together in the butler's pantry sniggering over 11-letter words like "anti-nuclear" or "Aldermaston"?



Such were my thoughts on reading that the Sheffield Corporation had banned PN from the public library.

For I'd noted, during the Lady C. case, that prosecuting counsel particularly stressed the danger of such a book getting into the hands of the lower orders, with special mention of domestic servants and factory girls.

I cannot say why the working classes are more susceptible to demoralising influences than their employers, unless it means that immunity from corruption depends on income.

However, we'll discuss anthropology later. What you want to know is whether public libraries which ban PN also ban Lady C. And if not, why a paper about peace should be deemed a greater menace to national morale than a book about sex.

The answer is clear: Lady C. only tells the public what they already know, but PN tells them what they don't know, which is infinitely more dangerous. For it tells them all those facts about "defence" and about the causes of wars, hot and cold, which all the governments of the Free World are continually at pains to prevent them knowing.

And of all the five-letter words ever chalked furtively upon walls, the most nation-corrupting of all is included in its title.

Admittedly, the Sheffield Corporation may be doing us a good turn. As the mile-long Chatterley queues demonstrate, nothing is so likely to boost the circulation of any publication as to tell people they shouldn't read it.

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B. J. BOOTHROYD

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He examines the attempts made to prevent war by disarmament (and it is important to note that the word "disarmament" does not mean *total* disarmament) and the attempts made to prevent war by heavy armaments designed to deter aggression.

He then comes to the conclusion that peace cannot be achieved by either arming or disarming. It is unfortunate in so interesting an analysis that the issue is confused simply because of the lack of that little word "total" in front of "disarmament." To say that both disarmament and armaments have failed to secure peace, when total disarmament has never been tried, is to evade the real issue.

★

He lays it down that the only way to peace is by meetings between statesmen and "political thinkers" (whoever they may be) to analyse the problem of peace; but it is clear that if this is based on the idea that disarmament has failed to secure peace, it is based on a false assumption in regard to the meaning of real disarmament.

There is no suggestion in this article, which is given such prominence in a Sunday newspaper of considerable repute, that there should be any moral objection to armaments, nor any advocacy of disarmament except on grounds of expediency.

Total disarmament, which of course has never been tried, would not, if it were undertaken simply on the grounds of expediency, be acceptable to the masses of people. On those grounds they would have to be persuaded that, in the event, disarmament would be a safeguard against annihilation. At the moment, if they think about it at all, they are convinced that the biggest and most terrifying of armaments are their guarantee against total massacre.

It is noteworthy how consistent the discussions on disarmament even when there are suggestions for total disarmament by agreement, ignore the moral issue. In all the protests against the setting up of a Polaris depot on the shores of the Holy Loch none has ringingly challenged the immorality of using such weapons.

Lord Attlee, also in *The Sunday Times* this week, has excused his acquiescence in the Hiroshima A-bomb on the grounds that he knew nothing about fall-out or genetic effects; this excuse cannot be made now, since experiments have revealed the likely consequences and he himself was in office when Britain tested and produced her first atom bomb.

It is true that neither arms nor reduction of arms has served to save the peace; nor is there any reason to suppose that it will be otherwise today. The great challenge for the future is presented by the pacifist call to disarm totally on moral grounds; moral disarmament has not yet been tried.

**A**USTRALIA has been in quite a flurry recently over the matter of security. It started with the revelation that the Australian Army had instituted a course on brain washing. Then came the Gluckman affair when Professor Gluckman, a visiting anthropologist from Manchester University, was refused permission to enter Papua (New Guinea) for research. No reason was given. Some papers, university groups and politicians protested. It was later reported that Professor Gluckman would receive a visa to go to Dutch New Guinea, but in the end he declined this saying that he did not want to be the means of a quarrel between Australia and Holland.

Now has come the case of the Russian pamphlets. A worried headmistress called in the Security Service the other day to examine some literature which had come from the Soviet Embassy. There was much press letter-writing about the pernicious influence of Communist propaganda on the young.

Now it appears that the literature was not considered subversive, and the whole matter of its unsolicited distribution by the Soviet Embassy to schools and libraries is being looked into.

What the public response to these events has made clear is that there exists in Australia a convinced and unsubdued liberal-

## Inquest on Hiroshima victim

**T**HE inquest on Andrew Brawls, aged 39, labourer, of Dale Square, Broadheath, near Altrincham, a former prisoner of war who was at Hiroshima when the first atomic bomb was dropped in 1945, was adjourned at Altrincham on November 16 for a month "for further investigations."

Mrs. Hilda Brawls, who claims that the atomic bomb "had something to do" with her husband's death, has written to Mr. F. J. Erroll, MP for Altrincham, asking for a full investigation.

The Central Cheshire Coroner, Mr. J. F. Hibbert, according to the *Guardian*, Nov. 17, said:

"There is obviously a history that has to be examined. I have called in the War Office and pathologist at the Christie Radium Institute, Manchester, who are making tests. I want to give time for the Army authorities to be contacted for this man's service record. We cannot be certain what caused his death.

radical element by and let the instrumentalities of the modern power state extend their dominance over the lives of men. The Security Service has therefore come in for severe criticism.

One fair comment in reply to the Press Attache of the Soviet Embassy who wrote about the desirability of peoples of different countries trying to know each other, was the question whether the Soviet Government would be prepared to grant similar facilities to the Australian Embassy in Moscow to distribute literature to schools and libraries.

Since the Russian literature included several speeches by Mr. Khrushchev and other materials on foreign policy, would the Soviet Government allow the dissemination of speeches by Mr. Menzies, say? Not exactly the most absorbing reading I should think, but a fair request.

The Soviet reaction is awaited.

## BRITISH APPEAL TO DE GAULLE

**I**N a communication to the President of the French Republic, the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Stuart Morris, expressed his concern over his Government's recent measures to curb public freedom of speech and writing on the Algerian issue ("French editor summoned," PN Nov. 4.). He further added:

"We understand that a work camp is being organised in France where young conscripts who are unwilling to fight in the Algerian War could go to take part in relief work and other constructive activities. You will be aware, Mr. President, that in Britain while the National Service Acts have been operating, it was always possible for a conscientious objector to ask the tribunal to allow him to perform positive acts of national service under civilian authority in lieu of the military service to which he had a conscientious objection. It has thus been possible both to recognise the workings of conscience and to provide that instead of wasting their time in prison or on the run, conscientious objectors should be enabled to perform useful national service."

It was therefore hoped, Stuart Morris said, that the French President would recognise that in his country when conscripts felt unable to serve in the army, it was better they had the opportunity of alternative social service in Algeria or elsewhere.

And of all the five-letter words ever chalked furtively upon walls, the most nation-corrupting of all is included in its title.

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## None of your business!

"It would not be in the public interest to state the precise power of the Polaris warhead."—Minister of Defence Harold Watkinson, in a Parliamentary Written Answer, November 14.

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# FRITZ ERLER TAKES SECOND BOW

**B**ACK to Scarborough again. One of the cleverest and most eloquent pro-NATO speeches at this year's Labour Party Conference came from Denis Healey, the Party's foreign affairs spokesman since the illness and death of Aneurin Bevan.

Khrushchev, he told us, was "not the George Lansbury type." It surprised Healey that so many trade unionists would abandon their weapons before negotiating with Khrushchev but would not before sitting down with the Chairman of London Transport.

Now all this is good debating mud to throw around since it spreads two easily-digested notions: that unilateralists claim they can guarantee security, and that negotiating should be the same as bargaining.

One of the shortcomings of such debates is that it takes more than the permissible couple of minutes to counter the Healey brand of clever judgment. Someone might have pictured realistic Healey walking into a conference with the Chairman of London Transport and putting on the table a time-bomb set to blow them both up, but the occasion for serious debate was elsewhere.

Mr. Healey went on to demonstrate just

that, by descending from misrepresentation to the depths of unworthy sentimentalism. British Labour had to continue to play power politics (a translation of his speech from the jargon explained) because any other course would be letting down the West German socialists.

To justify this rare logic he explained that Fritz Erler, the "defence" spokesman of West Germany's Social Democratic Party, was present at the conference and had survived several years in a Nazi concentration camp. Men of that calibre needed Labour's support, his emotional spasm concluded.

Recalling the Nazis was just the signal for most delegates to stop thinking and cheer their heads off at the red herring. Up jumped Herr Erler in the visitors' section and with elaborate and prolonged modesty acknowledged the ovation.

Denis Healey's remarks on the West German socialists were curiously irrelevant. He had quietly overlooked that only a few weeks previously the Social Democrats had gone cap in hand to Dr. Adenauer and offered to co-operate in a bi-partisan foreign policy.

What Mr. Healey really meant was that by adopting a new policy British Labour would be letting down Dr. Adenauer and Herr Strauss, men whose military policies square up acceptably with the

views of the Gaitskell-Healey-Brown school.

The last few days must have brought great comfort to these gentlemen if they've been watching the German socialists' conference at Hannover. There Herr Willy Brandt and his colleagues "met little serious opposition," as *The Times'* correspondent explained with judicious understatement, on defence.

Conscription, against which the Social Democrats once fought bitterly, received their blessing, and the debate on nuclear weapons has been concluded before it had scarcely started. The Party's crusading socialist policy on the latter issue is that "no attempt should be made to have the Bundeswehr equipped with atomic weapons, but changing circumstances may compel it to accept them if West Germany's allies so wish."

## Sly ambiguity

"This is a position," *The Times'* man remarked slyly, "which is none the less clear for having been deliberately stated in such a way that the Left-wing of the Party can interpret it differently if it so wishes." In fact the policy is "very close to the one that Herr Strauss, the present Defence Minister, claims is his own."

The foreign policy resolution at the conference—unanimously adopted with only four abstentions—tied the country "unalterably" to the Western camp and said that a bi-partisan foreign policy with the ruling Christian Democrats "has become necessary because there is no longer any alternative in a number of vital questions."

Herr Erler himself enjoyed a personal triumph in putting Party chairman Herr Ollenhauer back into line when he wandered from the straight and narrow. The defence expert's face-saving argument that it would be a mistake to limit the

## NEW POLITICS

by

Christopher

Farley

Because it has nothing to say on these all-important subjects, and because its conservative opponents are identified more clearly with the present increasing prosperity, social democracy faces a bleak future. The last Labour Government in the Commonwealth disappeared last weekend in New Zealand.

In several countries—as demonstrated again at the recent elections in Denmark—the people working for disarmament, neutralism and popular resistance to nuclear strategy are organising themselves outside the main stream of the socialist movement. It must be said that this reveals an encouraging sense of priorities.

Only in Britain, however, has the full weight of hostility to the Bomb been markedly effective inside the ranks of organised socialism. Here the rank and file of the Labour Movement have spoken with the only voice they have, and for the moment the initiative has passed to their representatives in Parliament.

Of course there is still plenty of work for the rest—the adoption of unilateralist candidates as soon as possible by the constituencies, more educational work about the alternative for Labour, and general consolidation of the Scarborough decision.

But when all this has been said, it is difficult to see how there can be a further major advance in the Party without the unilateralists in the House of Commons organising their resistance to the nuclear strategy of their Party's leaders. They have precious little time in which to do this.

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

### Any volunteers?

**T**HE Johannesburg Nationalist evening newspaper, *Die Vaderland*, in a leading article on November 21, urged the South African Government to send "in-

Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg and stage demonstrations in restaurants, cinemas, hotels, theatres and public transport.



The Archdeacon of London, the Venerable



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Herr Erler himself enjoyed a personal triumph in putting Party chairman Herr Ollenhauer back into line when he wandered from the straight and narrow. The defence expert's face-saving argument that it would be a mistake to limit the Party's freedom of action must have smelt a trifle stale to Mr. Gaitskill; but it had the required effect of keeping the discussion on the choice of particular weapons and away from the dangerous ground of discussing a new policy.

“It was his exposition,” beamed *The Times*, “more than any other, perhaps, which resolved the debate on atomic weapons.” Take a second bow, Fritz Erler.

Herr Brandt's Party is now fast going the way of social democracy almost everywhere: no distinctive foreign policy, no opposition to the weapons of genocide.

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The aim in Britain, however, remains the same as in countries where campaigning is less advanced: to carry this debate to a successful conclusion in the shortest possible time. It may well be that we shall now see the resistance in West Germany fast becoming disenchanted with old-style socialism and following the example of campaigners in Denmark.

This could open the way for a much-needed new alignment in German politics and bring to a close the play-acting of the present “opposition.” The play could end on a fitting note: *Fritz Erler takes a final bow. Exit Right. Curtains.*

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

### Any volunteers?

THE Johannesburg Nationalist evening newspaper, *Die Vaderland*, in a leading article on November 21, urged the South African Government to send “informed and well-disposed African and Coloured emissaries overseas to tell the world about South Africa.”

It should be possible, the paper said, to find enough sensible and understanding ones among them who “see the truth and have the courage to let the world know about it.”

### Counter-boycott

SOUTH AFRICA'S Foreign Minister, Mr. Eric Louw, explained recently to the UN Trusteeship Committee why his country would boycott debates on the mandated territory of South-West Africa.

“It would not be proper,” he said, “for the General Assembly to consider the South-West Africa question while the issue was before the International Court of Justice. The matter was *sub judice*.”

South-West Africa is the only remaining mandated territory, and has been a matter of concern to the United Nations since 1946. Since then the UN General Assembly at successive sessions has invited the Union Government to place the territory under the Trusteeship System.

### Expensive business

“A major-general retiring today under the 1960 code after 34 years' service would receive retired pay of £1,850 and a terminal grant of £5,550.”—*Minister of Defence, November 16.*

### More Cape Town sit-ins

TWENTY-EIGHT White and Cape Coloured demonstrators last Saturday held a further sit-in demonstration in the snack bar and restaurant of a Cape Town department store as a protest against apartheid.

It was the third such protest within a week. The demonstrators, calling themselves “The South African Committee,” say they are going to establish branches in

Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg and stage demonstrations in restaurants, cinemas, hotels, theatres and public transport.



The Archdeacon of London, the Venerable O. H. Gibbs-Smith, was stopped last week by the Independent Television Authority from completing his series of Epilogues in support of the nuclear deterrent. Only Monday's and Tuesday's Epilogues were shown. Protests were received after them.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, instructed the High Commissioner in Pretoria to “make it clear” that the deportation of the Bishop of Johannesburg had “created a most unfavourable impression” in Britain, he said in a Parliamentary Written Answer on November 24.

## Emrys Hughes on Norstad

□ FROM PAGE ONE

ing for is that the NATO Supreme Command in Europe should have the power to use nuclear weapons *unilaterally*.

NATO is to become the fourth atomic Power and all the pretence that the NATO forces in Europe are to be just “a trip wire in Europe” (we don't hear this one so often now) or “a shield” is to be abandoned. The power to retaliate or even to begin a preventive nuclear war in Europe is to pass to General Norstad.

In order to preserve “our democratic way of life” power is to be given to the NATO high command to blow up the world with very little consultation, if any, with anybody.

Some people still entertain the delusion that General Norstad's proposal means giving more potential control to the Governments of the nations in NATO.

But it is quite obvious that General Norstad, like Field-Marshal Montgomery before him, regards the idea that he must

be under the control of the politicians as just so much nonsense.

Of course it would be extremely dangerous to give General Norstad more power than he has already.

If the British Government were thinking permanently of the safety of Western Europe and of Britain its response to General Norstad's latest request would be to tell Washington that we would feel safer if Norstad were called home.

For the whole of the previous NATO strategy is now in ruins. General Norstad has not been given the conventional forces that he says he needs.

It is true that there are British soldiers in the NATO forces in Europe, but all the military critics are telling us that they are not equipped for a modern war and to equip them only with “conventional weapons” would cost an enormous sum of money.

Not being able to find the conventional forces (the French Army is in Algeria) General Norstad now wants the right to

use atomic weapons immediately there is any possibility of military action.

All this makes it important that we should consider whether NATO is a “shield” at all or can become just a provocation to the Russians and could bring war nearer—or increase the danger of a war by accident.

Mr. Strachey is reported as saying that NATO should stick to its original role. General Norstad says “There will have to be a new look—at where we are going and how we are prepared to get there.”

We certainly do need to take a new look at NATO in the light of the Norstad proposals, and the more we look at them the more we will realise that NATO cannot possibly be a defence in the event of war and that the whole of the conception of NATO strategy in Europe should be abandoned as something that might bring nuclear war nearer.

Real political control over General Norstad is an impossibility. To give him more power and control over nuclear weapons in Europe—for that is what he wants—would be just another step nearer suicide.



# The FRAUD of PARTNERSHIP

PEACE NEWS, December 2, 1960—5

**The Anatomy of Partnership**, by T. R. M. Creighton. Faber and Faber, 21s.

**MR. BELLENGER**, Labour MP for Bassetlaw and former Under-Secretary for War, is an honourable man. And so, no doubt, are his two colleagues, Mr. Deer and Mr. George Rogers, even though the latter's attitudes on the problem of race-riots in his constituency were a trifle ambiguous.

There is, therefore, no reason to doubt Mr. Belenger when he says that the views which the three of them expressed after their Voice and Vision sponsored tour of Rhodesia were their own honestly held views and not merely those of Sir Roy Welensky's advertising agency. But what must be said is that it will be disastrous for Britain's good name in Africa if so-called "fact-finding" by MPs in Africa is to be paid for by the Federal Government and if MPs come back campaigning for Welensky and apparently ignorant of the patent facts of the Central African situation.

If Welensky is to be prevented from achieving a majority in the British Parliament (and already it should be pointed out that 18 Members have gone off on "fact-finding" tours), a counter-campaign will have to be mounted in Britain with all possible speed. Fortunately there is to hand at this moment an excellent source of ammunition for such a counter campaign in Mr. Tom Creighton's book, **THE ANATOMY OF PARTNERSHIP**, which analyses the Central African situation with the same refreshing honesty which has marked Mr. Creighton's articles in the *Spectator*.

★

The crux of the matter, of course, lies in the Federal Constitution. For it matters very little if inter-racial tea parties are held in the name of "partnership" (there are, of course, precious few even of these); if the power to decide whether or not Africans shall advance rests with a settler-dominated Parliament.

The facts are clear enough. Forty-four of the 59 MPs in Rhodesia are elected on the basis of an electoral roll which includes 85,000 Whites and 1,039 Africans. And,

of the remainder, especially charged with defending African interests, four are elected by the chiefs, two nominated by Governors, and nine elected by a broader electorate including the same 85,000 Whites and this time 1,901 Africans.

★

Africans call this a "stooge" system. It obviously is, since the majority of the Black faces which appear in Parliament will be those which have made themselves agreeable to their settler masters. What could be more nauseating than the attempt to represent such a system as "partnership"? The fact that it has been discussed in such terms is a comment on the gullibility of the British press, including its ever-diminishing liberal wing.

If, however, we look at the definitions of partnership actually used by Lord Malvern, it might well be argued that partnership is being practised. For it is not and was never intended to be a liberal notion. It was always seen as a way of protecting White privilege from the threat of democracy. As Lord Malvern put it, "The British Government believes in a policy of partnership which implies that when the ward grows up the trustee will retire. But we believe in an evolutionary process leading to a partnership which will ensure the survival of the European race in this part of Africa." The armoured cars cordoning off Southern Rhodesia's locations are doing just that.

Though this is the crux of the matter, there is a great deal more to be said about the alleged safeguards of African interests and of the economic benefits which Federation was supposed to bring. The dismal truth about these is carefully catalogued by Mr. Creighton, who is able to see into the heart of the matter, partly because he knows his Southern Rhodesian settlers so well.

The only quarrel I have with Mr. Creighton is in his too indiscriminate condemnation of Labour leaders. Certainly the Party's utter failure to stand up to the settlers between 1950 and 1951 deserves to be exposed. And there is no doubt that the Federal scheme was drawn up with the blessing of Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Gordon Walker. But there is a lot of evidence to suggest that Mr. Creech Jones fought long and honourably against Huggins to prevent the Federation coming about, and it is misleading to lump his Ministry together with that of Mr. Griffiths in a general criticism.

★

**THE ANATOMY OF PARTNERSHIP** is the most substantial study available at the present time and it should have a wide sale. At the time of writing, however, a splendid 2s. 6d. pamphlet has appeared from the Africa Bureau. This is Faith Raven's *Central Africa, Background to Argument*, which is concise and clear and introduces additional material especially on the question of the alleged economic benefits of Federation which was not available when Mr. Creighton was writing. It, too, will be of the utmost use to anyone campaigning for an honest colonial policy.

**JOHN REX**



**SIR ROY WELENSKY**  
Prime Minister of the  
Federation of Rhodesia  
and Nyasaland

## Our contributors

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# CONVERSATIONS WITH NEHRU

**The Mind of Mr. Nehru.** An Interview by R. K. Karanjia. Allen and Unwin 10s. 6d.

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introduced, which is a microcosm of the international scene. One of the main charges brought against Nehru is that of undue complacency, and these conversations help one to understand the charge, without necessarily accepting it. Nehru believes that India's economic development is like a mathematical problem which can be worked out scientifically, and that nothing prevents a solution except irrelevant conflicts (like inter-provincial rivalries), which exhaust the nation's energy. Given the chance, Indians make excellent technologists. "But," he adds, "I have a little doubt about our capacity for hard work."

"The capacity is there," Karanjia replies, "but it has not been stimulated, organised and mobilised."

JOHN REX

## CONVERSATIONS WITH NEHRU

**The Mind of Mr. Nehru.** An Interview by R. K. Karanjia. Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.

THIS short book is a transcript of conversations which Mr. R. K. Karanjia had with India's Prime Minister earlier in the year. It does not add much to what one can learn from other books about Mr. Nehru's ideas, but it is genuinely illuminating about the mind which entertains those ideas.

His approach to politics, in India as well as internationally, is consistently one of looking for the peaceful, friendly, and co-operative solution. India's dispute with China has not altered this. "A good policy," he said to Mr. Karanjia, "doesn't become bad because it runs into trouble with a restless or aggressive neighbour. It merely puts it to a test, and we are sure it will overcome the challenge."

### Other means

Mr. Karanjia underlines the unexpectedness of finding such an attitude in one who has been so deeply influenced by Marxist thinking, but Nehru insists that he has no wish to deny (for example) the reality of the class struggle, but does wish to end it by means other than heightened conflict and violence.

For us in India, a large country with so many different religions, linguistic groups, thoughts, habits, etc., co-existence has become an imperative for our existence as a nation or survival itself. That is perhaps the reason, a historical reason born of our experiences which compels us to recommend this approach based on tolerance to the international conflicts and tensions."

India, with its intense and bitter internal

conflicts, is a microcosm of the international scene.

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"The capacity is there," Karanjia replies, "but it has not been stimulated, organised and mobilised."

"Maybe, whatever the reason . . ."

"And that is your default, sir. A call from you and the whole country can be mobilised!"

"Maybe so, maybe so, but there are other factors also besides my own default. Climate and other conditions count. So all that is there, and other uncertain and variable factors too, which can be got over. Only it takes time."

Only it takes time. One can imagine the irritation with which Dr. Nkrumah might read this. None the less, Mr. Nehru's combination of patience and impatience seems quite a useful frame of mind in which to deal with a world in serious danger of blowing itself up.

GEOFFREY CARNALL

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# Children's books

"IT'S no use giving you books. You read them too quickly," my mother would say as my birthday and Christmas drew near. Perhaps she would have changed her mind if she had realised how often I re-read my books. The books suggested here are well worth having to keep and will stand any amount of browsing.

Books for the family are a very good idea, for reading aloud from at first and dipping into later on. **SANTA CLAUS IN SUMMER**, by Compton Mackenzie, in its attractive new edition with illustrations by A. H. Watson, is excellent for this, with its droll asides that older children appreciate and its wealth of nursery-rhyme stories for the younger ones (Dent, 15s.).

Gollancz has published two excellent collections of stories. **THE SAPPHIRE TREASURY**, edited by Gillian Avery (15s.), contains fifteen stories, including Pinocchio, Edward Lear's Dong with the Luminous Nose, Dame Wiggins of Lee and The Stokesley Secret. **TO THE LAND OF FAIR DELIGHT** (15s.) includes three Victorian stories, Mopsa the Fairy, The Little Panjandrum's Dodo, and At the Back of the North Wind, with a splendid introduction by Noel Streatfeild. These stories have the original illustrations.

A "family" Puffin (3s. 6d.), **ELEANOR FARJEON'S BOOK**, containing stories, verses, plays and pictures, is a wonderful bargain. There are short poems and stories as well as longer ones, making it valuable for various lengths of reading time.

A completely new book is **THE GOLDEN CITY**, by A. L. Lloyd with pictures by Pearl Binder (Methuen, 12s. 6d.). This is a story of Victorian London and poor boys who had to earn their living. Traditional ballads of the time, the vivid detailed drawings in colour, make this the

jolliest kind of family book which should inspire quite a lot of singing.

A delightful picture book for the youngest children is **LUCY AND TOM'S DAY**, written and drawn by Shirley Hughes. This is a book about everyday things, with good detailed drawings to engross a child for hours (Gollancz, 8s. 6d.). **SLEEPY BOOK**, by Charlotte Zolotaw (World's Work, 12s. 6d.), is another simple picture book for the quiet time. Children bordering on five will be thinking about school and a lively bright book for them is **LATE FOR SCHOOL**, by Carol Odell (Faber, 9s. 6d.).

For children who can read, books with short chapters are a good introduction to longer stories. **SAM PIG GOES TO THE SEASIDE**, by Alison Uttley (Faber, 10s. 6d.), fits this group very well, as does **CAPTAIN'S ORDERS AND OTHER STORIES ABOUT JESUS**, by Geoffrey Hoyland (S.C.M. Press, 10s. 6d.), one of the best books of this kind I have seen.

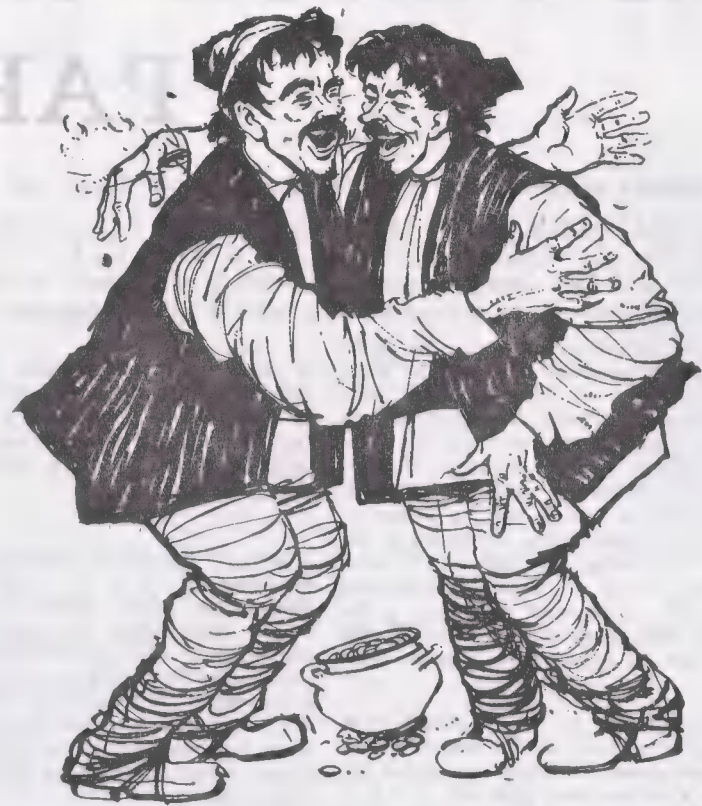
Many children appreciate the fine grown-up writing of Walter de la Mare, and will be proud to own **THE STORY OF SAMUEL AND SAUL**, illustrated by Edward Ardizzone (Faber, 10s. 6d.).

## Children under 11

Many of this year's best books describe life in other countries. For children under twelve these are highly recommended:

**SALLY FROM CORK**, by Patricia Lynch (Dent, 12s. 6d.), is perhaps more for girls than for boys. It describes the adventures of orphaned Sally and her brother and sister who travel from Ireland to find their living among the clannish Irish in the East End of London. The journey from Cork on a cargo boat in the fog is beautifully described.

**JASCHA**, by Franz Hutterer (University of London Press, 10s. 6d.), is translated from the German. Jascha is a donkey much beloved by Thomas, who is very good with him. Unfortunately Thomas's mother is faced with being turned out of her home



An illustration in "Pacala and Tandala", a collection of folk-tales for the under-twelves.

the slave States of America to freedom in the north. She returned again and again to fetch others and finally her own mother and father. When the Civil War broke out she became a nurse and cured many men given up by the doctors by her concoctions of roots and herbs. Both these accounts are excellent, giving many exciting incidents when the slaves are passed from "station" to "station" on the Freedom route.

**RED MOON AND HIGH SUMMER** is a weird and exciting story of the Tamashek tribe in the Sahara Desert. This book came to be written because of a journey the author took when he went to search for rock paintings. The illustrations are photographs taken by the author, Herbert Kaufmann (Methuen, 18s.).

**THE LONG WAY HOME**, by Marjot Reddy

K. Harris (Faber, 13s. 6d.). The first is a mystery story involving the cellars of two adjoining old houses; the second a well-written school story, not about cheating or petty jealousies but about the adjustments two friends must make when they are left without mothers.

Boys of this age will enjoy two books by E. W. Hildick, **THE BOY AT THE WINDOW** (Chatto and Windus, 9s. 6d.), a mystery solved by a boy with polio, and **JIM STARLING AND THE COLONEL** (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.), a breathless account of Jim's successful attempt to out-champion a legendary prodigy of seventy years ago.

**CHANGES AT DOWBIGGINS**, by Elfrida Vipont, is the third in the delightful Dowbiggins series about village life in the north of England. In this volume the children turn a rubbish dump into a garden

## NEW EPWORTH BOOKS

### KAGAWA OF JAPAN

by Cyril J. Davey

The story of Kagawa, the Japanese Christian leader, who died early this year, is one which will thrill young and old alike. Kagawa was one of the outstanding Christians of his age,



CITY, by A. L. Lloyd with pictures by Pearl Binder (Methuen, 12s. 6d.). This is a story of Victorian London and poor boys who had to earn their living. Traditional ballads of the time, the vivid detailed drawings in colour, make this the

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by David Head

Prayer is the highest activity of man, and there are many books designed to teach us the tongues of men and of angels. But prayer includes the words of beginners as well as those of mature saints. This is a book for the young-in-faith of God's family.

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### SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND THE CHRISTIANS

by C. A. Coulson, F.R.S.

In this book Professor Coulson describes some of the more fascinating aspects of the new age that is being born as a result of scientific and technological discovery, and discusses some of the problems that it raises for Christian thought.

8s. 6d. net.

### THE EPWORTH PRESS

25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1.

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PACALA AND TANDALA, by Jean Ure (Methuen, 13s. 6d.), are two rumbustious rascals who laugh at the world and at each other. It is a collection of short, impossible, enchanting Rumanian folk-tales.

ZA THE TRUFFLE BOY, by Angela Latini (University of London Press, 12s. 6d.), tells of the life of a village boy in Italy. He goes searching at night with his wise grandmother for the underground fungi, a delicacy prized by many especially at Christmas. To help them they take their pig, for she can smell out truffles at night. When his grandmother dies Za goes to the town to work with his father; but he prefers the country and returns with a plan to plant truffles and make them grow in fields.

Two Maoris and an Irish boy are the heroes of THE BOYS OF PUHAWAI, by Kim (University of London Press, 12s. 6d.). The three boys lead an adventurous life in New Zealand.

## Twelve and over

For children of twelve and over, the list is equally impressive.

KOSSON TOWN BOY, by Robert Wellesley Cole (Cambridge University Press, 12s. 6d.), gives fascinating boyhood memories of life in Freetown, where the descendants of freed slaves from many tribes live in a virile Christian community. The author is the first African to be elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

THE GIRL CALLED MOSES, by Ann Petry (Methuen, 12s. 6d.), and THE RAILROAD TO FREEDOM, by Hildegard Hoyt Swift (Bodley Head, 15s.) are both biographies of Harriet Tubman, the Negro slave who escaped from

many of this year's best children's life in other countries. For children under twelve these are highly recommended:

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THE LONG WAY HOME, by Margot Benary, is again an unusual story showing rare understanding. Chris, a war orphan, is living in East Germany with his mother's elderly teacher. He is involved with the distribution of leaflets for the freedom fighters and has to escape to the Western Zone. From there he goes to America to be adopted by an ex-G.I. America is, to Chris, a wonderful country, a land of plenty, yet he finds it puzzling and difficult to settle down until the family moves to the west where once more he can keep goats (Macmillan, 15s.).

## Older boys and girls

HEROES OF GREECE AND TROY, by Roger Lancelyn Green (Bodley Head, 21s.), is an effort to tell the history of the Heroic Age as the simple whole which the Greeks believed it to be and not as isolated stories. Beautifully written and printed with very fine illustrations in black and white.

TO SPARE THE CONQUERED, by Stephanie Plowman (Methuen, 15s.), an enthralling tale of the most critical time of Roman occupation, shows the conflict between Romans who wished the conquered natives to be treated merely as slaves and those who believed in humane treatment.

A Norwegian and Swedish expedition to Greenland in the fourteenth century to bring back the western settlement to Christianity is described in DOOR TO THE NORTH, by Elizabeth Coatsworth (World's Work, 15s.). Pressing further west when the settlement is found to be deserted, the travellers meet Indians and come to Minnesota.

And now for some good stories of life nearer home.

Two good books for girls of 10-13 are Eileen Meyler's ADVENTURE NEXT DOOR (Epworth, 9s. 6d.) and SERAPHINA, by Mary

written school story, not about cheating or petty jealousies but about the adjustments two friends must make when they are left without mothers.

Boys of this age will enjoy two books by E. W. Hildick, THE BOY AT THE WINDOW (Chatto and Windus, 9s. 6d.), a mystery solved by a boy with polio, and JIM STARLING AND THE COLONEL (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.), a breathless account of Jim's successful attempt to out-champion a legendary prodigy of seventy years ago.

CHANGES AT DOWBIGGINS, by Elfrida Vipont, is the third in the delightful Dowbiggins series about village life in the north of England. In this volume the children turn a rubbish dump into a garden and help their village to a high place in the "Best Kept Village" competition (Lutterworth Press, 10s. 6d.).

Girls who mean to be actresses will especially enjoy Elfrida Vipont's FLOWERING SPRING (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.). This is a sequel to THE SPRING OF THE YEAR, and it gives some more of Laura's life story and her adventures when she has an audition for a London school of acting.

SHADOWS ON THE MUD, by Frank Knight (Macmillan, 13s. 6d.), raises interesting problems. A boy and a girl in a small yacht rescue two boys from a mud bank and find that they come from an Approved School. The adventure leads to a queer friendship. Some problems are solved but others prove baffling.

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# ERNEST BEVIN -

## *hero of the 'shapeless mass'*

**The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin—Vol. I, by Alan Bullock, Heinemann, 50s.**

OF all the debates on rearmament in the Thirties the clash between George Lansbury, the leader of the Labour Party, and Ernest Bevin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, one of the most successful and influential trade unionists of the twentieth century, was easily the most dramatic.

At the 1935 Labour Party Conference the question focussed on whether Labour was to declare its readiness to enforce military sanctions through the League of Nations. Lansbury, though Leader of the Labour Party, in a most moving and effective speech had declared: "If mine was the only voice in the conference I would say in the name of the faith I hold, the belief I have that God intended us to live peacefully, and quietly with one another."

Immediately following him to the rostrum, Bevin launched into an attack of extreme ferocity, the effect of which was to turn the conference against Lansbury to such an extent that he could not get a hearing at the end of it.

In order to understand the reason for this it is necessary to look back into Bevin's life, and his development as a trade unionist. One of the great merits of the recent biography, *THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ERNEST BEVIN*, by Alan Bullock, is that it does enable us to see Bevin as many of the older generation will remember him, the most influential trade union leader of his day.

Here is Bevin in 1920 to an audience of dockers and their families: "There are 99 per cent of the men and women in this audience tonight who believe they are of a lower order than the other class. You accept it, and I want to get rid of it." This fierce pride in his class, and his anger with working people when they accepted an inferior position, is the essence of Bevin's approach to the world.

And the way out of this undignified and poverty-stricken situation was organisation in trade unions. "Before our movement developed, you responded to the whip of the master. You obeyed him in your work because you feared him. You used to tell him off, but it was only in your mind..." The way forward was to transfer potential



There he saw each morning the men gathering together waiting to see if they were to be the fortunate ones who were selected to work that day. Throughout the whole period of his development as a trade unionist we can see Bevin searching for ways in which the potential power of the working class could be sharpened into an effective weapon for achieving their advancement.

We find him first as Secretary of the Bristol Right-to-Work committee, leading the unemployed into morning service in Bristol Cathedral to bring their poverty home to the congregation. But soon he was involved in the work of the old Dockers' Union in Bristol, and here he found the real outlet for his energy, which was only

nevertheless primarily a trade unionist within politics. If this is forgotten much of what he does is not easily explained.

This then was the man who came to the Labour Party rostrum and destroyed George Lansbury. Why did he do it so violently? Could he not have made a gesture of respect to him, and then argued the case out?

Part of the answer, of course, was in his own character. He was seldom, in public at least, a gentle man. The story is told that when one of his rivals walked past him, a friend remarked, "You know, that man is his own worst enemy." Bevin's reply was "Not while I'm alive"—which would not have been untypical of him.

There were two specific reasons for his violence, however—both of which emerge from Alan Bullock's biography. First, Lansbury had offended Bevin's propensities about how the Labour Movement should work. Bevin attacked him for choosing the Conference to resign, when he had acquiesced in the policies up until that date. The time for gestures like this had been the year before, or at least the months before. If Lansbury felt he had to resign he should do so and not "take his conscience round from body to body to be told what you ought to do with it." After the conference he accused Lansbury of trying to manipulate the time so that no one could reply to him that night.

But behind this point was a much deeper question. Bevin was not a pacifist. He had grave doubts about the first world war, but had restrained them so as not to split his union. In the debates on League of Nations sanctions he had used the language of the trade union branch. The obligation under the League of Nations Covenant to go to war for it was like a man entering a union: "If I joined a union and I was called upon to go on strike, what would be thought of me if I said I would not, but exercised my own discretion at a critical moment."

PEACE NEWS, December 2, 1960—7

The main drive behind Bevin's reluctant support for rearmament, however, came from the simple fact that he had seen the destruction of the trade union movements overseas by dictatorships. This had convinced him that there was a threat which had to be fought, if necessary by military means. A year later he was to sum up his attitude in these words: "If I am faced with the question of arming this country, I am prepared to face it. . . . Which is the first institution that victorious Fascism wipes out? It is the trade union movement. . . . We saw our movement go in Germany. . . . Our men shed their blood in Austria—and nearly every one of them was a trade unionist."

The basis of Bevin's attack was that Lansbury had not made his protest when he should, but the bitterness stemmed from Bevin's view that Fascism was destroying in other countries the only force that could emancipate the working man. It should not happen in Britain if he had any influence.

### **Deep beliefs**

The strength of Alan Bullock's biography is that he has managed to present Bevin in his true relationship to the organisations he believed in so deeply. It is remarkable that he should have been able to do so as he is not primarily an industrial historian (one could certainly argue about some of the background history that he sketches in).

But this is less important than trying to understand the strengths and weaknesses of organisation as such. How is it that the Boycott Movement and CND grew up largely outside the Labour Movement? The trade unions organised a direct action campaign against intervention in Russia in 1920; forty years later there was little support for any direct action on the South African issue. Is this a case of hardened arteries, or is there something in the fact that labour has to be organised that inevitably leads to it running by its own conventions so much that it cannot face up to new challenges?

Mr. Bullock does not consciously analyse this sort of problem, but in the life of Bevin as a trade unionist he has given us a vast amount of material to make our own examination.

**RICHARD JACKSON**

Free me



dockers and their families: "There are 99 per cent of the men and women in this audience tonight who believe they are of a lower order than the other class. You accept it, and I want to get rid of it." This fierce pride in his class, and his anger with working people when they accepted an inferior position, is the essence of Bevin's approach to the world.

And the way out of this undignified and poverty-stricken situation was organisation in trade unions. "Before our movement developed, you responded to the whip of the master. You obeyed him in your work because you feared him. You used to tell him off, but it was only in your mind . . ." The way forward was to transfer potential into real power, for the employing classes would only submit to force or the "power of organised labour in its economic power"

He was greatly influenced by his experiences as a carter round the docks.

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gathering together waiting to see if they were to be the fortunate ones who were selected to work that day. Throughout the whole period of his development as a trade unionist we can see Bevin searching for ways in which the potential power of the working class could be sharpened into an effective weapon for achieving their advancement.

We find him first as Secretary of the Bristol Right-to-Work committee, leading the unemployed into morning service in Bristol Cathedral to bring their poverty home to the congregation. But soon he was involved in the work of the old Dockers' Union in Bristol, and here he found the real outlet for his energy, which was only matched by his talent. Three years after he joined he was one of its three national organisers.

### Triple Alliance

He worked within the Transport Workers' Federation, which linked most transport workers, and later played a part in establishing the Triple Alliance of miners railwaymen and transport workers which was to give extra strength to each by the support of the others. Both of these were to disappear after 1921 when a lack of agreement about who was to control the terms on which all the unions would return to work when they had taken sympathetic action in support of the miners destroyed the unity of the unions. An almost identical difficulty was to mar the organisation of the General Strike five years later.

All the time Bevin, growing in authority and stature, was looking for a more effective method of organising the "shapeless mass," as he called it, of the Labour Movement. The various alliances had shown themselves to be as he called them, "paper alliances." Bevin wanted a unified organisation, with strong sense of direction. Largely owing to his work in 1922 the Transport and General Workers' Union was formed, an amalgamation of 18 unions, which today is still the largest by far of the trade unions.

In the wider trade union movement he was one of the architects of the Trades Union Congress General Council, formed to give some effective central lead to the trade union movement. In the field of international trade union organisation too he was active in trying to get strength through unity.

Though active in politics, twice a Parliamentary Labour candidate, Bevin was

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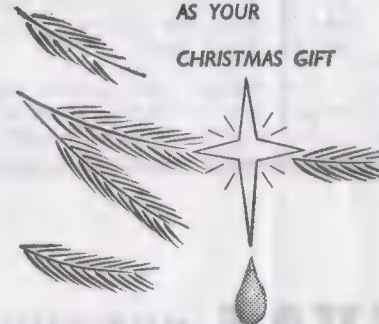
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**RICHARD JACKSON**

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# BEYOND THE SLOGANS ON NATIONALISATION

**Nationalised Industry and Public Ownership**, by William A. Robson. Allen and Unwin 50s.

**DURING** the recent march from Edinburgh to London I walked behind a young lady who had pinned to her back the slogan "No H-Bombs. More Socialism. More Nationalisation." Other people marched away from Scarborough recently led by Mr. Butler with the slogan "No More Nationalisation."

As long as the matter is confined to slogans, the opponents of nationalisation are likely to win, because it is they who can hire the most expensive dogs to bark the slogans. It is in the interest of those who support nationalisation to encourage rational discussion. **NATIONALISED INDUSTRY AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP**, by William Robson, Professor of Public Administration at the London School of Economics, is probably the most full and balanced treatment of nationalisation which has yet appeared.

This is not primarily a book about the implications of nationalisation for social justice, for individual freedom or for industrial democracy. It is a magnum opus on the public corporation which the author believes to be a major constitutional development in the democratic state pioneered above all in Britain.

The current argument in the Labour Party centres largely on whether some industries should be nationalised because they are profitable and the profits can best be secured for the community in this way, or whether nationalisation should be confined to industries which are in some sense "failing the nation."

## Greater equality

It is generally agreed that there must be greater equality. One section believes that this can be achieved by fiscal measures alone: direct and indirect taxes, death duties, capital gains tax, capital losses

fitable industries for the express purpose of diverting the profits to the exchequer and the state acquisition of equity shares for the same end. The basis of his opposition is the same in both cases: it is undesirable that the state should have a vested interest in the profits of a particular industry, since it will be tempted to maximise these profits, even to the point of pursuing an anti-social policy. Already the interest of the Exchequer in tobacco revenue is thoroughly unhealthy.

The important point is made that even if a Labour Government did increase Exchequer income either by nationalisation or by equity share acquisition and did use this to promote equality during its term of office, there is no guarantee that a government which does not believe in equality would not reverse the process. The real problem is how to make egalitarian policies irreversible.

In Italy the state does own a fair number of equity shares, but this has not had any marked effect on equality.

## Private industry

This does not mean that the state should never participate in private industry. It may be necessary for the state to promote development in an industry which is mainly in private hands. In such cases the state and private interests should join in a mixed enterprise with the state having control in proportion to its investment, like any other shareholder. This is quite different from the state acquisition of equity shares, advocated by Mr. Gaitskill, where the state becomes merely a passive shareholder. It is also quite different from the outright subsidies to private industry out of public funds which Mr. Macmillan favours. Examples of mixed enterprise are the British Sugar Corporation and British Petroleum.

In general, Professor Robson regards nationalisation as an outstanding success. Assessing the performance of nationalised

those industries which are "failing the nation." This term is variously interpreted: it may be underinvestment in steel or lack of research in machine tools and shipping or a suspicion of overcharging in defence contracts in the arms industry.

Professor Robson quotes with approval the emphasis of Herbert Morrison that the Labour Party must make out a good case for nationalising any particular industry. This view seems to accord most naturally with the "failing the nation" criterion. Nevertheless, Professor Robson is strenuously opposed to this view. Such an approach can only result in inefficiency and nationalisation being ineradicably linked in the public mind and will make it more difficult to extend nationalisation to the new industries where it has best chance of success.

Broadcasting, airlines and atomic energy show that public enterprise can be very successful indeed. (Ironically, it was a Conservative Government which created the Atomic Energy Authority against the opposition of Labour, who wanted it kept under the Ministry of Supply). It is unlikely that Conservatives, whatever they may say, will really oppose a policy of nationalising only bankrupt industries. Why should they? In fact, something like the nationalisation of coal and railways was considered intermittently by Conservatives between the wars (e.g., Harold Macmillan: *THE MIDDLE WAY*, 1938).

A nationalised industry, then, should not be run to provide the exchequer with revenue. Nevertheless, rather higher profits in the nationalised industries are recommended so that these industries can finance more of their own development. There is some discussion of the alternative policies of operation at marginal cost and at break-even. The former, which may involve either a large deficit or a large surplus, is held by many economists to be the most logical way to operate a nationalised industry, but present statutory requirements are for the latter.

Socialists tend to be suspicious of competition, perhaps because they identify it

with the motive of private enterprise as a good thing. But he is an ardent advocate of competition. His belief in both public enterprise and in competition leads him to suggest, for instance, that broadcasting would best be done by several public corporations.

There are more aspects to competition than we often realise. A typical instance of the advantage of competition is that a specialist in radio would then have a choice of employers where he now has only one.

One advantage often claimed for nationalisation is that it makes possible co-ordination in matters such as fuel and transport. In general, Professor Robson is suspicious of such co-ordination and is in favour of the consumer paying real costs wherever possible.

It was hoped when industries were nationalised that they would become more democratic. We cannot expect to have a healthy democracy politically if we have autocracy in industry where we spend most of our life. While recognising the value of developments such as joint consultation, Professor Robson is not optimistic for further progress. This is perhaps the most difficult problem of all, but we cannot rest content with the present position.

## Investing enough

One argument often advanced for nationalisation is that private industry does not invest enough. A committee, headed by Dr. D. N. Chester, has examined the steel industry and has concluded that this industry has in fact underinvested. This is something on which I should have liked more facts. What were the best estimates of steel requirements available to the industry? What was its actual investment? What was the cost of imported steel? What would the effect of a new strip mill have been? Does private enterprise inevitably find it more profitable to underinvest?

One of the main emphases of the book is on flexibility. Although nationalisation of entire industries may still be appropriate in some cases other methods should be considered. It may be best to take over only some firms in an industry. In other cases mixed enterprise may be required. And it is suggested that the most neglected field is in municipal trading.

There are some lighter moments. The charge that a public agency is necessarily over-cautious is rebutted by triumphant reference to the groundnuts scheme.



above all in Britain.

The current argument in the Labour Party centres largely on whether some industries should be nationalised because they are profitable and the profits can best be secured for the community in this way, or whether nationalisation should be confined to industries which are in some sense "failing the nation."

## Greater equality

It is generally agreed that there must be greater equality. One section believes that this can be achieved by fiscal measures alone: direct and indirect taxes, death duties, capital gains taxes, capital levies. Another section believes that these means are inadequate and that they must be supplemented by nationalising profitable industries. A third section, while agreeing that fiscal means are not enough, is hesitant about further nationalisation and therefore proposes instead that the state should acquire equity shares in profitable industries, thus leaving those industries undisturbed.

Professor Robson is emphatically hostile to any attempt by the state to take the profits of an industry by direct ownership. He opposes both the nationalisation of pro-

fitable industries in an industry which is mainly in private hands. In such cases the state and private interests should join in a mixed enterprise with the state having control in proportion to its investment, like any other shareholder. This is quite different from the state acquisition of equity shares, advocated by Mr. Gaitskell, where the state becomes merely a passive shareholder. It is also quite different from the outright subsidies to private industry out of public funds which Mr. Macmillan favours. Examples of mixed enterprise are the British Sugar Corporation and British Petroleum.

In general, Professor Robson regards nationalisation as an outstanding success. (Assessing the performance of nationalised industries is not easy. The recent *Socialist Commentary* survey shows that most people judge by the lamentable yardstick of whether the industry makes a profit: electricity is successful, railways are not. If a crude test is needed, then a much better one is a comparison of the actual or probable performance of an industry in private and in public hands. Here the author has no difficulty in showing that in coal and railways, for instance, nationalisation has won hands down.

Nevertheless, the Labour Party has largely lost confidence in nationalisation, which is now advocated usually only for

Macmillan: THE MIDDLE WAY, 1938).

A nationalised industry, then, should not be run to provide the exchequer with revenue. Nevertheless, rather higher profits in the nationalised industries are recommended so that these industries can finance more of their own development. There is some discussion of the alternative policies of operation at marginal cost and at break-even. The former, which may involve either a large deficit or a large surplus, is held by many economists to be the most logical way to operate a nationalised industry, but present statutory requirements are for the latter.

Socialists tend to be suspicious of competition, perhaps because they identify it with the law of the jungle. The author comes down decisively on the side of those who regard the abolition of the profit

what would the effect of a new strip mill have been? Does private enterprise inevitably find it more profitable to underinvest?

One of the main emphases of the book is on flexibility. Although nationalisation of entire industries may still be appropriate in some cases other methods should be considered. It may be best to take over only some firms in an industry. In other cases mixed enterprise may be required. And it is suggested that the most neglected field is in municipal trading.

There are some lighter moments. The charge that a public agency is necessarily over-cautious is rebutted by triumphant reference to the groundnuts scheme.

In short, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in its subject.

FRANK LEES

## NEW LIFE IN MENFI

THE second quarterly bulletin of the Danilo Dolci Committee, published recently, contains a personal account of the agricultural development work being conducted at Menfi in Sicily by Michele Mandiello, one of the workers who has been helping the work of Danilo Dolci since 1958.

His work has included irrigation, experimental plots for various crops and tree planting. Commenting on co-operation with the local farmers and workers Michele Mandiello says:

"At first I had to go to the fields to find the contadini (smallholders); now they themselves come to me."

Recent arrival at Menfi is John Ogden, trained in social studies, who hopes to develop the activities of the Menfi Centre among the young men.



Other personnel at the Centre have established a school for local children. In co-operation with the organisation, International Help for Children, seven boys and girls from Partinico in Sicily have just spent eight weeks in Britain.

Future plans of the Menfi Centre include the establishment of a chicken co-operative.

In Britain the Danilo Dolci Committee hopes soon to organise an exhibition of

paintings by Sicilian school children.

By March this year a total of £10,692 had been received for Danilo Dolci's work. Funds are transferred to Sicily as they are needed from London.

Publicity material available from the London Committee includes the film, "Murder By Neglect." Speakers with firsthand knowledge of Sicily are also available.

The address of the Committee is 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

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STUART HALL  
P. M. T. SHELDON-WILLIAMS  
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MICHAEL CRAFT

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## Defence expenditure

WHILE all contributions towards solving the economic problems of disarmament are to be welcomed we must, surely, avoid the temptation of giving too glib an answer. Grigor McClelland's articles (PN, November 4 and 11) with the frequent use of such phrases as "easily absorbed by local industry," "I am not particularly worried by this," "the present problem is relatively a bagatelle," "conversion problems would be negligible," etc., are dangerously near to glibness.

Moreover, the re-deployment of labour and resources following upon disarmament—with which he seemed to be mainly concerned—is only one aspect of the problem. An equally, if not more important, aspect is that of dealing with increased productivity resulting from this newly-released labour force. McClelland gives only one clue in this respect. He says, "What will really be needed to put together with these resources is: competitive-minded management in general, and salesmen in particular!" In other words, we can only hope to deal with increased production consequent upon disarmament by stepping up the trade war and trying to create new markets for exports. We don't need to be told what the consequences of *that* would be.

In dealing with the economies of disarmament we should not ignore the economies of re-armament. While the excuse for re-armament may be military the purpose is always to solve an economic problem, principally the problem of over-production (or under-consumption or failure to distribute, just as you wish) and unemployment. Until that problem has been solved in another way, the arms industry will always be regarded as a short-term solution, and politicians won't bother to look further if

## Letters

there appears to be a solution under their noses.

This problem is with us now. We are failing to distribute our increased production. The motor-car industry is an obvious example. Exports are falling off, the surplus is piling up, and thousands of men are being laid-off or are working short time. The new domestic durable goods industry—fridges, TVs, washing machines, etc.—will soon find itself in the same position and the old vicious circle of lack of demand, unemployment, lack of demand, more unemployment will come into operation once more.

To suddenly inject (McClelland: "... a cutback of defence expenditure to 1930 level . . . could be achieved in a matter of six or twelve months without serious dislocation . . .") a labour force of something over 1,500,000 and all the material resources of the armaments industry into this situation would be economically disastrous—unless we decided to scrap the whole of our economic system at the same time.

The economic problems attendant upon disarmament cannot be solved in terms of the existing economy. To pretend otherwise is both futile and dangerous.—**DOUGLAS CLARK, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.**

*W. Grigor McClelland writes:* Between 1950 and 1952 UK defence expenditure rose by half as much again, though the economy was already overburdened. The reason, as everyone knows, was the Korean war. Everyone, that is, except your correspondent Douglas Clark, who asserts: "While the excuse for re-armament may be military the purpose is always to solve

an economic problem." If he believes that he will believe anything.

In my articles I did not deal with the problem of ensuring adequate overall monetary demand for the resources released by disarmament because the correct approach to this has, I believe, been generally understood for the last 15 years.

Briefly, the position is that while the Government is employing these resources it has to hold back private demand correspondingly, and it does this by taxation. When the £1,700,000,000 per annum worth of resources is released, a corresponding amount can be remitted in taxation (thus becoming available for private spending) or can be spent in other ways.

The main problem is not the global one; it is how easily the particular physical resources can be adapted to a different pattern of demand. This is the problem I dealt with. It was in this context, and in respect of a particular type of productive capacity, that I referred to "salesmen." This reference did not imply any need for "stepping up the trade war and trying to create new markets for exports."

Douglas Clark thinks the problem is insoluble unless we "scrap the whole of our economic system." It is true that a capitalist economy cannot deal with large and sudden shifts as easily as a planned one, and quick disarmament under a government which thinks it can leave everything to the price mechanism would be disastrous. If this is all that Douglas Clark means I agree with him.

I hope that the "glibness" of my articles will not be taken to imply that I think there is no need for a government to plan well ahead and in detail, and to act resolutely when the time comes. There certainly is such a need.

## Religion and Politics

ACCORDING to a report published on November 1 there is to be a meeting between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Presumably neither of these Church dignitaries will admit that they are in any way responsible for the present Cold War between West and East. Yet, as Professor Marcus Oliphant of Australia remarked six years ago, "The sorry state of world affairs is the fault of the Churches for not doing a better job" (*Time*, May 31, 1954).

Ever since the Middle Ages, when peasants' revolts in Europe were quelled by well-armed henchmen of feudal landlords,

PEACE NEWS, December 2, 1960—9

## S. African censorship

Peace News Reporter

AS the resistance in South Africa grows each year, more money will be needed for maintenance of dependants and legal costs.

Alan Paton, the well-known writer and President of the South African Liberal Party, explained this at a London press conference this week at the conclusion of his American speaking tour.

Christian Action's Defence and Aid Fund in Britain is hoping to raise a further £200,000 for South Africa by the end of 1961. It has already raised £190,000 from December, 1956.

Mr. Paton said that there had been no Government interference in South Africa with the raising or transmission of funds. This surprised him, as did other aspects of the Government's slowness to act.

He expected that another Emergency could be declared in the future. Next year a press censorship act was expected. Editors of daily papers will act as their own censors and be held responsible for what they have published. Periodicals such as *Contact*, in which Alan Paton writes, will have to submit all material to a censor.

He hoped the Treason Trial would end early next year but expected it to go to appeal. The refugee problem was becoming more difficult. "We're not a Nazi country," he concluded, "but not a bad imitation of one."

On Monday evening he addressed a packed public meeting at Church Hall, Westminster, in connection with the Annual General Meeting of Christian Action. A further £205 was raised that night.

## PN TEAM IN BIRMINGHAM

A TEAM of *Peace News* speakers held a two-session forum in Birmingham last Saturday afternoon and evening in conjunction with the city's branch of the National Peace Council.

The chairman of PN Board, Vera Brit-

## Christianity—then and now

*The Mind of Jesus*, by William Barclay. SCM Press paperback, 5s.

*The Church and the Arts*, edited by Frank Glendenning. SCM paperback, 6s.

"HERE was a wandering Galilean preacher, who had begun as a carpenter in Nazareth and who had now no place to lay his head. With him there was a little company of men without education, without money, and without prestige. He stood in a place surrounded by the memories of the ancient gods of Canaan, a place where men worshipped the gods of Greece . . . where men worshipped the majesty of imperial Rome; and there Jesus . . . contributed by six of the participants:



politicians won't bother to look further if the military has the purpose also to solve

# Christianity—then and now

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William Barclay's writing has that engaging quality of unpretentious sincerity often found in conscientious pastors who have a sense of humour; real refreshment for dry souls. Nothing spectacular here in the literary way, but plenty of reliable information and good sense.

If you have any sensitivity at all you will recognise, in the paragraph quoted above, a deployment of forces and attitudes reflected in to-night's news bulletins. The permanences of our political wisdoms to which, pathetically, we cling, are the memories, deaths, and dusts of to-morrow. "My Word shall not pass away," says Jesus quietly, while Patriarchs, Presidents, Politicians, and Pentagons dismiss him as an impracticable idealist.

If you want to know more about this Word (and which of us can afford not to?) without being side-tracked into ecclesiastical or philosophical politics, read this book.

★

"**T**HE relation between the Church and the arts is filled with misunderstanding and mistrust. It is not merely that we live in an age of transition, but that the Church has encouraged a positive cult of the ugly."

Strong words, and a cry from the heart!

During three recent years an interesting experiment was going forward in the medieval parish church of St. Mary Lowgate, Hull. The then vicar, Frank Glendenning, now Warden of Student Movement House in London, edits this symposium

contributed by six of the participants: a theologian, a textile designer, an architect, a drama producer, a composer, and a poet.

Much of the nonsense which often accompanies discussions of this sort is knocked out. Stern self-searching is demanded from both sides, Church and artists, and some positive suggestions are made.

Those who suffer under average congregational singing will endorse the quoted query of a fourth-century Abbot: "What repentance can there be in a monk . . . who lifts up his voice like a bull?" And further questions come crowding. Who decided that religion must be Gothic? Why do printers, when left to themselves, invariably choose Gothic type for church handbills? What has happened to the carved "Scolding Wife" and "Fox preaching to the Geese" in church decoration? Why is symbolism meaningless to most people today? Why is laughter at a "religious" play performance so difficult for adults, even when the programme says they may laugh? Why are "Christian" playwrights apparently reluctant to leave an audience to draw its own conclusions?

Such questions are not so easy to answer as it may seem at first. One needs to be warned that it is dangerous to institute a divorce between the content of the Gospel and its form. Too much time and money has been spent on attempts to affirm Christ by methods which deny Christ.

This book is a record of wrestlings with problems like these. I hope it will be widely read, and more, that action will be taken. Is there any reason why action should not be taken by the appropriate authorities at once to set aside a London city church to be an Arts Centre, a place for meeting, lectures, discussion, exhibitions, concerts, plays, and worship?

**JACK SHEPHERD**

## Religion and Politics

**A**CCORDING to a report published on November 1 there is to be a meeting between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Presumably neither of these Church dignitaries will admit that they are in any way responsible for the present Cold War between West and East. Yet, as Professor Marcus Oliphant of Australia remarked six years ago, "The sorry state of world affairs is the fault of the Churches for not doing a better job" (*Time*, May 31, 1954).

Ever since the Middle Ages, when peasants' revolts in Europe were quelled by well-armed henchmen of feudal landlords, with the connivance of Cardinals and Bishops—and the West African slave trade, started by Portuguese adventurers, evoked no protests from Jesuit missionaries or from the Pope—the Church of Rome has been a reactionary organisation.

So-called Protestant Churches, at a Synod convened in 1637, also condoned the slave trade, on the hypocritical grounds that "the slaves will have the inestimable benefit of becoming Christians and saving their souls." The real reason for rejecting protests by "over-scrupulous persons" was that contributors to Church funds included rich shipowners and sugar merchants who profited from that barbarous traffic.

Despite good work by individual missionaries and humble parsons, the Church of England as a whole, like the Church of Rome, has always been a champion of the *status quo*. Its leaders have never been active supporters of social reform, which was one of the chief features of Christ's teaching.

I suggested in *Peace News* on September 16 that "only through radical reform can Church Unity be brought about, so that religion can be a spur and not a hindrance to further changes in the social order which are imperative."

But Church leaders cannot be expected to "reform" themselves, so outsiders should take a hand in the business. For at the present time Church dignitaries—like the "military élite" mentioned in Professor Harrison Brown's *Community of Fear* report—are dedicated to "a position of perpetual hostility to the Communist world."

This state of mind, sedulously propagated by influential prelates, can only lead to another conflagration and a blood-bath for all of us, unless wiser folk intervene.—  
(Captain) **C. E. COOKSON**, Sompting, Sussex.

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## PN TEAM IN BIRMINGHAM

**A** TEAM of *Peace News* speakers held a two-session forum in Birmingham last Saturday afternoon and evening in conjunction with the city's branch of the National Peace Council.

The chairman of PN Board, Vera Brittain, covered a wide field in her opening address on "How to Make an Impact on Public Opinion." Also speaking briefly from the platform was Connie Thorpe, who is very well known in the area for her many years of untiring peace education work.

After tea Christopher Farley and J. Allen Skinner spoke on the military revolution and on opportunities for developing positive peace policies, and the session was wound up by Ian Evans of the Co-operative Party in Birmingham.

During the two sessions most of the 70-odd present (many of whom were delegates of local organisations) joined in the discussions, which were chaired by Birmingham's Dr. Peter Gittins. Much of the preparation for the forum was the work of PN Board-member Arthur Taylor, and the Board hopes to hold further forums in other cities in the New Year.

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# MAKING SOCIALISTS

**Out of Apathy**, edited by E. P. Thompson. New Left Books, Stevens, 15s.

"I CAN'T see," said a disappointed friend, "how this will pull in the educated liberal voter," which is certainly one way of registering the point of OUT OF APATHY.

This is a collection of essays by editors of *New Left Review*, directed not at votes, floating or anchored, nor at the mythical hordes of would-be Liberals, but directly at the mind of the Labour Movement. So it is not surprising that the "quality" weeklies and dailies, sensing, I suppose, an impudent challenge to their monopoly of "Telling The Party What To Do Now," gave it a tepid welcome. From them one discovered that the contributors, and especially Edward Thompson, were out of touch with the contemporary scene; were not specific (i.e., did not blue-print an election programme); were utopian, fundamentalist, and—crime above crimes!—were theoretical.

Of course, this is irritating, but to be expected. Much of what we like to call "the process of democratic debate" is not more than a furious interchange of last year's platitudes. Independent thinking is like showing meat to a hungry dog; it mainly stimulates the flow of clichés.

## Human reason

These essays are theoretical, utopian and fundamentalist (i.e., concerned with issues of principle, not in the cant meaning of stupidly and inflexibly dogmatic), not only because they re-assert the power of a particular radical tradition, but because they share an unusually positive view of the effectiveness and dignity of human reason in the ordering of *all* human concerns. Such a view should at least remind us that today's independent thinking is tomorrow's legislation; that when the Labour Party leadership is still raging away about the threat to party unity from fringe-intellectuals, ex-Communists, pacifists and fellow-travellers, it will be implementing—let us at least hope so—the kind of policies which

for pedestrians is higher than it ever has been. . . . In the centres of our cities, the private developers and land speculators throw up one office slab after another: typists and clerks herded into these dense, overcrowded urban canyons—yet there has been only *one* new hospital built since the war.

To put it another way: it is so easy to forget that the Welfare State has realised in common experience objectives that were highly utopian in 1935. The St. Pancras riots about rent increases show that one of these assumptions is security of tenure. When tenure is threatened people react with "irrational violence": it is their identities as human beings, and not just their material homes, that the Rent Act strikes at.

So with full employment Kenneth Alexander's account in "Power at the Base" of the new political directions in which organised labour could move, shows that the "apathy" allegedly produced by good wages is no more than a formula explaining away a new condition whose detailed contour does not fit the old political maps. Analysing the phenomenon of "prestige"—strikes in the motor industry, he points out that at least one unpredicted effect of high wages has been to underline a sharp contrast between economic well-being and low social and political status. A situation like this makes people extremely sensitive to minor insults (or mistakes) by "Them," and so likely to react "irrationally."

The full political meaning of the contrast is still nascent, and certainly not accounted for by the current policies of Transport House. The responsibility of the Left, then, is to name these as yet scarcely

formulated demands, to arm them with facts and arguments. Alexander suggests that here is at least one present situation to which the utopian perspective of industrial democracy is immediately relevant, now and not tomorrow. The accumulated indictment of the chapters by Ralph Samuel ("Bastard Capitalism") and Stuart Hall should be balanced by Alexander's account. There is more to our society than the much-quoted "private affluence and public squalor."

The other essay which concentrates on the immediate context is by Peter Worsley, who in "Imperial Retreat" gives a clear and forceful exposition of what lies behind the New Imperialism in Africa and elsewhere—i.e., the substitution of economic for political apron-strings. In fact, if the Labour Party is looking for a foreign policy, it would find a great deal of one in this essay. The reserves of public sympathy on racial and related questions again offer an encouraging public ethos for the kind of policy Worsley implies.

## Making connections

But until we connect the official British attitude to South Africa with the extent of our capital investment there; or the fact that the UN continues to be hamstringing in the Congo with the help the NATO Powers give Belgium in protecting her investments in Katanga; or the continuance of the Algerian war with the continuance of NATO—liberal humanitarianism on these tragedies will remain impotent. With the full history of the Congo situation now before us, Worsley's essay, written presumably in the early months of this year, has a truly prophetic ring.

I can only mention Alasdair MacIntyre's "Breaking the Chains of Reason" since

its subject is mainly the history of recent philosophy, and the relation of that to the disarming of intellectual protest in contemporary society. Edward Thompson's "Outside the Whale" is concerned with a similar theme, but approaches it by the (for me) more accessible ground of literature. Using Auden and Orwell as his guides, Thompson traces the decline of radical self-confidence which began with the bafflement experienced by both writers in the face of the Spanish War, the Moscow Trials, and the Nazi-Soviet pact, and ended with Orwell's collapse into the nightmare of "1984", and Auden's steady retreat from the actuality of the world he lived in, as underlined by the extensive revisions suffered by his early poems.

## Cultural condition

Orwell's "1984" is not merely a personal nightmare—though it is that—it also helps to ratify a cultural condition. It marks a final turning-away from the effort to create a more humane society; and it can be linked with Auden's final dismissal of man's desire for the Just City as ■ fantasy, and a dangerous one at that.

The purpose of both essays is to expose the ideology of "apathy," the moral and cultural structures which clothe the inner nervelessness and fear. This cultural condition is completed in the political assumptions of the Cold War. The Cold War continues to exist for a number of reasons, but not the least of these is the moral timidity which the culture first hides, and then imposes upon any subsequent exercise of the mind trying to envisage a future more human than that of "co-existence"—a future where a generous interchange might humanise the links between the fortunate rich and skilled Europeans, and those of "the houseless sides . . . the loop'd and window'd raggedness" of the world's other countries.

And this too is addressed to the mind of the Labour Movement. The "culture" matters for another reason than traditional respect for the "arts." It matters because it tells us, with a realism that nobody can afford to ignore, precisely what we are. If the National Executive could read "1984" with critical eyes . . . if they would read Alan Sillitoe's SATURDAY NIGHT and SUNDAY MORNING as well as Alexander's "Power at the Base" (yes, that is utopian), they might at least be less vulnerable to the half-baked "realism" of

## Recent books recommended

THE WESKER TRILOGY, by Arnold Wesker. Jonathan Cape 21s. The playwright's celebrated in *The Sunday Times*. Over 80 illustrations in monochrome and colour.



These essays are theoretical, utopian and fundamentalist (i.e., concerned with issues of principle, not in the cant meaning of stupidly and inflexibly dogmatic), not only because they re-assert the power of a particular radical tradition, but because they share an unusually positive view of the effectiveness and dignity of human reason in the ordering of *all* human concerns. Such a view should at least remind us that today's independent thinking is tomorrow's legislation; that when the Labour Party leadership is still raging away about the threat to party unity from fringe-intellectuals, ex-Communists, pacifists and fellow-travellers, it will be implementing—let us at least hope so—the kind of policies which can be deduced from this book.

"Now," said Brecht, not long before 1939,

*Now is the time of the great taking-over  
Of all nature to master it,  
Not forgetting human nature.*

It is easy to say now that Brecht miscalculated his dates; and with our knowledge of such miscalculations, not easy to echo him. But if we don't, we will soon find everything being run by those who take a particular pleasure in saying "never."

## Effective thought

We want not to forget this. One of the most valuable things about *OUT OF APATHY* is that the contributors believe in the effectiveness of thought and speech. Arguments may not be won in a year, but in three or five (as Crosland's *THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM*, 1956, showed) they can completely recast the terms of reference on which all detailed programmes finally depend.

If the theoretical question of social priorities in economic planning had been asserted earlier, would we be standing so helplessly before the situation described by Stuart Hall in "The Supply of Demand"?

We spend as a society nearly two-thirds as much on advertising as we spend on education; as much on packaging as on industrial research. We have undertaken, over the next two years, a greater expansion programme in the motor-car industry than ever before (including direct loans from the Government to the motor firms)—although the roads are choked and the accident rate

this same people consistently to minor insults (or mistakes) by "Them," and so likely to react "irrationally."

The full political meaning of the contrast is still nascent, and certainly not accounted for by the current policies of Transport House. The responsibility of the Left, then, is to name these as yet scarcely

**THE WESKER TRILOGY**, by Arnold Wesker. Jonathan Cape, 21s. The playwright's celebrated trilogy recently performed at the Royal Court Theatre, London. *CHICKEN SOUP WITH BARLEY* (3s. 6d.), *ROOTS* (2s. 6d.) and *I'M TALKING ABOUT JERUSALEM* (2s. 6d.) have also been published separately as paperbacks by Penguin.

**PASSIONELLA**, by Feiffer. Collins, 10s. 6d. The cartoonist's four stories recently reviewed in PN.

**THE ILLUSTRATED BOOK ABOUT AFRICA**, by Felix Sutton. Macdonald and Co., 17s. 6d. A children's book illustrated in colour on every page.

**THE QUARE FELLOW**, by Brendan Behan. Methuen paperback, 3s. 6d. His play set in an Irish prison during the 24 hours before an execution, showing the effect of hanging on prisoners, warders and the hangman himself.

**O RARE HOFFNUNG**. A memorial anthology. Putnam, 25s. An illustrated book by some of the innumerable friends of the musician, cartoonist, clown and Quaker who died recently at the age of 34.

**VICKY MUST GO!** Oldbourne, 5s. A collection of satire and cynicism—all recent work from the *Evening Standard*—by the world's number one cartoonist.

**THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH**, by William L. Shirer. Secker and Warburg, 63s. A 1,280-page volume filled with vital facts—such as how many firms tried to get the contracts to build the gas chambers. An extremely important account of the Nazi era.

**LOOKING AT PICTURES**, by Kenneth Clark. (John Murray, 37s. 6d.) An expansion of his articles on great pictures which first ap-

peared in *The Sunday Times*. Over 80 illustrations in monochrome and colour.

I can only mention Alasdair MacIntyre's "Breaking the Chains of Reason" since

**THE NUDE: A STUDY IN IDEAL ART**, by Kenneth Clark. (John Murray, 25s.). A cheaper unabridged edition of a major work first published in 1956.

**DRAWN IN COLOUR**, by Noni Jabavu. (John Murray, 18s.). A view through African eyes of the predicament of the emancipated African facing racial and social difficulties.



**THE AFRICAN**, by William Conton. (Heinemann, 15s.) A novel about an African who feels the tug between tribal tradition and Western education, encounters race prejudice in England and returns home to the political struggle for independence.

**BRIEF AUTHORITY**, by Father Charles Hooper. (Collins, 21s.) A young priest's account of his life in South Africa and how his pastoral work led him to opposition to the Government.

**THE S MAN**, by Mark Caine. Hutchinson, 12s. 6d. A grammar of the techniques and mechanism of contemporary success.

**THE FACE OF VICTORY**, by Leonard Cheshire. Hutchinson, 21s. His struggles and failures before establishing the Cheshire Foundation Homes for the Sick.

**THE SPIRIT'S PILGRIMAGE**, by Mira behn. Longmans, 25s. The autobiography of Madeleine Slade, follower of Gandhi.

**THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARK TWAIN**, edited by Charles Neider. Chatto and Windus, 30s.

**THE WISDOM OF BUDDHISM**, by Christmas Humphreys. Michael Joseph, 21s.

**THE FUTURE IS OURS, COMRADE**, by Joseph Novak. Bodley Head, 21s. Conversations with Russians.

those of "the household gods . . . the loop'd and window'd raggedness" of the world's other countries.

And this too is addressed to the mind of the Labour Movement. The "culture" matters for another reason than traditional respect for the "arts." It matters because it tells us, with a realism that nobody can afford to ignore, precisely what we are. If the National Executive could read "1984" with critical eyes . . . if they would read Alan Sillitoe's *SATURDAY NIGHT* and *SUNDAY MORNING* as well as Alexander's "Power at the Base" (yes, that is utopian), they might at least be less vulnerable to the half-baked "realism" of the statistical "opinion" survey.

*OUT OF APATHY* is a book to buy, and I see little point here in arguing the toss over occasional dissents. Many of these have been well discussed in recent issues of *New Left Review*, in a series of answers to the book. But one general point is worth remark. I think it is Yeats who says that a man whose utopia is *vague* is suspect, and the point is well taken. The socialist who offers a genuine moral alternative to present society cannot afford to be vague, yet the more he is precise, the more he must project of his own experience, or of the experiences which he understands best.

## Other images

It is easy, then, to give the impression of excluding other images, other men's projections of the good life. I do not think that Edward Thompson has entirely avoided this suggestion. And, difficult though it is, it must be avoided. In any possible future the interplay of individual life and communal norm is likely to be complex and delicate; much more so than the term "organic community" allows for. This term is in fact a nervous pastoralism into which one retreats from the full difficulty of envisaging an open, yet a socialist society.

Socialism is a means for ensuring the greater likelihood of rich, intricate, varied and satisfying life for most people. It is not in itself a morality, but a means to the extension of significant moral choice. "Apathy," "indifference"—these, after all, are moral choices to the people who make them, and a society whose normal morality rejects these qualities, or worse, views them with therapeutic sympathy may be socialist, but it will not be open.

**GRAHAM MARTIN**



# RUSSIA AFTER STALIN

by Sidney Lens

*Last week American trade unionist Sidney Lens started this short series after his recent trip to the Soviet Union by discussing how different people could form utterly different opinions on Russia. He now argues that under Khrushchev Soviet society has made rapid and striking changes.*

IT is difficult to convince Americans that Russia is in transition, that the worst evils of Stalinism are now passed. A decade of McCarthyism has eroded our sense of objectivity. Even to assert that changes for the better are possible is considered as being "soft on Communism."

The first American I met after my return from Moscow was a waiter in a New York restaurant. When I showed him a Russian rouble he gasped in surprise: "I didn't know they used money in Russia." From what he had gathered from an American press that speaks only in clichés and stereotypes, he believed that Russian workers worked 12 to 14 hours a day, were fed, sheltered and clothed by the state and then locked in at night like prisoners. "You know," said the waiter, "like slaves."

★

American correspondents in Moscow told me that once or twice a year they cable a summary of improvement in Soviet life but it is seldom carried by their newspapers. We seem to be hiding from the very idea that Communism can change. In our dogmatism we parallel the dogmatism of rigid Stalinists who can see no possibility of change in capitalism either.

Yet the Soviet picture is much different today than it was seven years ago when Stalin died. Those differences are not as sharply delineated as they might be if Khrushchev could afford to bury the past. He himself was so involved with the crimes of Stalinism he must seek a rationale to explain why he associated

again. Stalin went berserk with his personality cult and did many things which "were wrong."

In this up-and-down estimate of the late dictator the Khrushchev forces find solace for their own straddle. Here was a man, presumably, who deserved support during some periods but not others. His popularity, however, "was so great" that he couldn't be toppled in the off-periods.

★

This clumsy explanation of Stalinism may act as cover for Khrushchev's role, but it simultaneously blurs the transition nature of the present régime itself. By continuing partial allegiance to the memory of Stalin, Khrushchev unwittingly camouflages the great break he has made from Stalinism.

The Stalinist régime depended in the final analysis on the secret police, on naked terror. Khrushchev, pressured by new literate forces, has seriously clipped the wings of the secret police. Under his rule the forced labour camps have ceased to exist. The secret police in the past worked their prisoners to exhaustion and death to open new territories, build dams, operate coal mines. Khrushchev finds these means economically useless. Instead he offers higher wages, better housing and career incentives to those willing to work in the frontier areas.

This is a radical departure from the past and an important factor in the lessening of fear.

Purge trials, which claimed the lives of so many old Bolsheviks, have been stopped. Even Khrushchev's opponents, like Malenkov or Molotov, have been spared such liquidation; they have merely been downgraded to lesser jobs. The secret police no longer make arrests without warrants or in the middle of the night. They no longer are assigned an economic role in the five-year plan. The trial, *in camera*, where the defendant himself was not present, has been abolished. Soviet legality is definitely on the upswing, and terror and fear definitely on the downswing. People spoke with us on the streets, in the universities and elsewhere, seemingly unafraid of reprisals. For the most part they discussed only safe subjects. But every now and then we ran into severe critics as well. This was particularly true amongst the youth. On one occasion we were invited into the one-room apartment of an elderly couple who hadn't spoken to foreigners for three decades.

Along with this relaxation of terror there is a considerable increase of consumer goods. During the present seven-year plan—to end in 1965—the régime is building or subsidising 22,000,000 dwellings, enough to house one-quarter of the population. When one considers that the average Russian family lives in a single room and shares toilet and kitchen with three to seven other families, this is quite a step forward. The flats are still small and of poor quality. But the Russian family now can look forward to a degree of privacy it never had under the previous régime.

Housing conditions are still the worst of any industrial nation—despite the slums

one sees in Chicago or London or Glasgow. But the slums are being torn down rapidly and that is significant.

Meat, shoes, clothing—all still in short supply—are closing the gap with demand more and more from year to year. Meat production went up by 19 per cent in 1960 and will double during the present plan. Chemicals—a large portion to be used for plastics and other consumer products—will triple.

The Soviets are close to an economic breakthrough—what John Strachey calls "the hump." They will soon be able to form adequate capital for heavy industry and raise living standards appreciably at the same time.

★

It is this that accounts for the growing Russian citizen's sense of destiny. The man on the street is, I think, cynical. But he has a degree of security unknown in the U.S.—free medical attention, an excellent pension system (considering wage levels), full employment, extensive educational opportunities, a large-scale and low-cost cultural programme.

When and if he receives adequate supplies of vegetables, meats, clothing and other rudimentary goods, his life will be more than just secure. And, if simultaneously the pressures for freedom continue—as they must—he will be close to the good life.

He is not there yet; and I don't think the present régime will lead him to it. But his individual pressures are growing. The plant manager is no longer afraid he will be put in jail for a wrong economic decision; the worker no longer is afraid he will be arrested for lateness or absenteeism. As fears abate, the demands for "more"—more goods, more freedom—grows.

That is the essence of the present transition. Some day soon it must reach its climax.

*Sidney Lens' final article in this series will concern the differences between Khrushchev and Mao.*

## FOREIGN POLICY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

WHETHER the world will be in peace or in pieces depends at this juncture on two nations: the USA and the USSR. In this context, the recent US presidential election drew world-wide interest. People the world over were watching the outcome in the hope that the winner, whether Kennedy or Nixon,

that in the USA and other nations conspire against the revolutionary dictatorship of Castro.

"Vice-President Nixon, in censuring



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Yet the Soviet picture is much different today than it was seven years ago when Stalin died. Those differences are not as sharply delineated as they might be if Khrushchev could afford to bury the past. He himself was so involved with the crimes of Stalinism he must seek a rationale to explain why he associated with it.

That rationale, as given to me by my Communist host, runs like this: Stalin was a "strong" man. Such a man was clearly needed in the late Twenties and the early Thirties to build up Soviet industry—"otherwise we would have been defeated by Hitler." Unfortunately Stalin continued his hard policies in the mid-Thirties when they were no longer essential. If the war had not intervened perhaps something might have been done about Stalin, but his steel will was once again needed after hostilities broke out. He filled the bill admirably. Once hostilities were over the cycle came full swing

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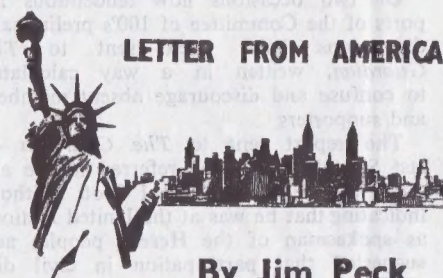
Unfortunately, these hopes had no basis in fact. This becomes clear now that the hoop-la, which had overflowed the newspaper pages and television screens, has suddenly terminated and the election of Kennedy become an accomplished fact.

Many of the American liberals who had half-heartedly flocked to his banner—and even some who could not stomach voting for either candidate—took solace in the feeling that Kennedy is not quite as bad as Nixon. Yet there is little solace for those people in all countries whose primary desire is for world peace.

Regarding the arms race, for instance, Kennedy is committed to increased expenditures on armaments. In fact, in recent years his party has frequently attacked the Republicans for the very nominal reductions in arms layout made during the two Eisenhower administrations. In this connection it is interesting that some Americans, though disliking Nixon, voted for him because in our era we have not happened to get into war under Republican administrations—only under Democratic ones.

On nuclear testing, both Kennedy and Nixon originally came out for continued negotiations at Geneva, but later in the campaign shifted to a position favouring resumption of underground tests if a Geneva agreement is not reached some time this winter. On summit meetings, Kennedy has approximately the same stand as the Eisenhower administration: that he will not attend unless certain specific prerequisites are satisfied.

Primarily, he has no intention of initiating a summit meeting or of taking any really new and creative initiative toward



bringing about world peace. In prospect for the USA is the same old heel-dragging policy of discrediting Russia's disarmament proposals yet offering nothing constructive in their place. Meanwhile, the armaments race will continue—but with new vigour.

Regarding foreign policy, one can only hope that Kennedy's campaign position on Cuba is not a typical preview of things to come, once he is in office. His stand, urging US aid to the forces seeking the overthrow of Castro, met with indignant opposition throughout Latin-America. Nixon's slightly milder stand which, however, backed the US "background" role in the 1954 overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala, met with equal disfavour.

The following editorial from the *Jornal do Brasil*, a leading Latin-American newspaper, gives an idea of opinion south of the US border:

"Senator Kennedy, in an attitude that surprised Latin-American public opinion which considers him a sort of a younger edition of Adlai Stevenson, declared himself disposed to give support of all types to counter-revolutionary groups

that in the USA and other nations conspire against the revolutionary dictatorship of Castro.

"Vice-President Nixon, in censuring him, recommended for the USA a more discreet attitude, like the one they had in relation to the Arbenz Government of Guatemala.

"There's no worse example than the case of Guatemala still alive in the memory of Latin-America. Thus Nixon's amendment was even worse than Kennedy's sonnet."

On the domestic front, civil rights is the main issue. In New York on Election Day I "voted" by participating in a pacifist-initiative civil rights walk (three days before we had had a peace walk in conjunction with the elections). About 500 of us walked first to Republican and then to Democratic headquarters urging that whichever candidate won should act on civil rights immediately upon taking office.

There is little chance that Kennedy could do so, even if he should abandon his fence-sitting position of the past. The Democratic Party is still bound by its Southern contingent which remains adamantly anti-civil rights.

The role of civil rights in the close Kennedy victory is significant. According to the *New York Post*: "Both Nixon's and Kennedy's top aides were convinced that the way Negroes voted was decisive." Kennedy won the Negro vote away from the Republicans, who had held it in both 1952 and 1956. He accomplished this largely through a single opportune act a few weeks before Election Day.

When Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violence, faced a four-month jail sentence on a technicality arising from a petty traffic case, Kennedy phoned Mrs. King and then had his brother Robert, a campaign aide, intercede so that King's prison term was at least postponed pending appeal. Nixon's unastute reaction to the King miscarriage of justice was "no comment."

*The Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace*

## THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY United Nations Studies

The General Assembly is in a key position in the U.N. because it is the only important organ to which all Member States belong.

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—STEVENS—





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## To-morrow's Prisoners for Peace March

THERE will be a poster march through the West End of London to-morrow to show support for war resisters and rocket base demonstrators who will be in prison over Christmas.

Details appear in the Diary on page two.

The march, organised by the Peace Pledge Union, is one of the many activities associated with "Prisoners for Peace Day" commemorated annually on Dec. 1.

There are two additions to the list of men known to be in prison which appeared in Peace News last week. They are:

Pierre Brinio, Prison de Loos, Lille (Nord), France.

Martin Janssen, Sittard, Veststraat 62, Holland.

The prisoners at the end of last week's French list held at the Centre Penitencier d'Alger have been moved and their addresses are not now known.

There are no British conscientious objectors known to be in prison.

## French pacifist editor fined

M. LOUIS LECOIN, editor of the French pacifist journal *Liberté*, was summoned recently before one of the Paris courts (as reported in PN of November 4).

He was charged on two counts following his comments on the killing of a young war-resister by a gendarme. M. Lecoïn now has been fined a sum of about £20 on each count. He commented that whatever



## SILENT PROTEST IN PONDOLAND

The South African Government has always considered Pondoland its showpiece to prove how apartheid can operate. The picture above shows 1,000 Pondo horsemen on their way to a protest meeting, behind them were 15,000 others on foot.

They carried a white flag of peace. It was not by chance that this march of South Africa's most war-like tribe was quiet and orderly. They had gathered earlier to hear their leaders call for non-violence and abstention from liquor while they demonstrated. Waiting for them at Bizana was a Saracen armoured car and constables armed with sten guns also a Government spokesman to report the find-

ings of a Government commission of enquiry. They listened to him and then went quietly away.

They are now boycotting traders and call-

ing home Pondos who are away working in mines and cane fields. By Nov. 16 traders in the one town of Bizana estimated their loss to be £6,000.

## Non-violent action leaders to confer in India

NON-VIOLENT action and constructive peacemaking are to be the principal topics for discussion when leaders of revolutionary pacifist movements from all over the world gather in India at Christmas for the triennial conference of the War Resisters' International.

Among those attending are:

Danilo Dolci (who will be in London next week to join delegates flying from Gatwick at 3 p.m. on Dec. 11); three members of the Sahara protest team: the Rev. Michael Scott, Bill Sutherland (Ghana) and Bayard Rustin (former special assistant to the Rev. Martin Luther King and a leader of the "sit-in" movement);

Harold F. Bing, Chairman of the WRI; Joseph Abileah, Israel; Anthony Bishop (Australia); Johan Galtung, leader of "Conflict and Peace Research" section, Oslo

## New press attack on civil disobedience

THE new British non-violent civil disobedience movement, "The Committee of 100," would already appear to contain at least one provocateur.

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His advocate remarked that the law which made it legitimate for the authorities to kill a man in flight was in general one which was reserved to totalitarian states and made its appearance in France in 1943.

Another notable point in the hearing was that even the judges were moved by the reading of letters received by M. Lecoïn from the parents of the young man who had been killed.

## HOUSMAN PORTRAIT IN LONDON

A portrait of Laurence Housman is included among an exhibition of paintings by Cecile Crombeke at Walker's Galleries, 118 New Bond Street, London, W.1. Open daily from 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. (Sats, 10-1) until Dec. 17.

## Briefly

The New Zealand Labour Party Annual Conference has urged the abolition of military training in schools.

The Home Office told Frank Allaun, MP, in a Parliamentary Written Answer on October 27 that the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis had stated that "it is not his policy to send dogs to political or trade union meetings."

### UNIVERSAL RELIGION PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Attractions at Peace News Bazaar.

(See separate advertisement.)

Art Exhibition and Palmistry.

4.15 p.m. Anthony Bates:

"Stories of My Pictures."

5.15 p.m. Dora Russell:

"Our Children and Total War."

## New press attack on civil disobedience

THE new British non-violent civil disobedience movement, "The Committee of 100," would already appear to contain at least one provocateur.

Like the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War which has had plain clothes policemen present at discussion meetings and taking part in demonstrations, the new committee has to meet problems similar to those which confronted Gandhi during his campaigns to free India from British rule and military occupation.

On two occasions now tendentious reports of the Committee of 100's preliminary discussions have been sent to *The Guardian*, written in a way calculated to confuse and discourage absent members and supporters.

The report sent to *The Guardian* of last Saturday's meeting referred to the absence of the Rev. Michael Scott (without indicating that he was at the United Nations as spokesman of the Herero people) and suggested that participation in civil disobedience by CND members did not meet with Canon Collins' approval (in fact, official CND "supporting" marches and meetings have been held in connection with civil disobedience actions at Harrington and Finningley bases).

The report also referred to the Committee as "the breakaway nuclear disarmament organisation." In fact, most of the Committee are members of CND and many of them local officers.

## Coast-to-coast march at Christmas

A COAST-TO-COAST march, organised by the National Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, is to leave Liverpool on Christmas Day.

It will proceed via Warrington (Dec. 26), Manchester (Dec. 27), Huddersfield (Dec. 28), Barnsley (Dec. 29), Doncaster (Dec. 30), Goole (Dec. 31) and arrive at Hull on Jan. 1.

"We wish to precipitate the formation of new Youth Groups in the North and bring home to people the meaning of the resolutions at Scarborough," says a statement by YCND.

## Polaris Protest

LARGE advertisements are to be placed in the "Glasgow Herald" and the "Scotsman" appealing for support for protests against the Polaris base on Holy Loch.

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**Dec. 3** a march through Dundee followed on **Dec. 4** by a public meeting with Emrys Hughes, MP, in the Marryat Hall.

**Dec. 5** in Dumbarton at 7.30 p.m. (Burgh Hall); **Dec. 6**, public meeting in Gourrock at 7.30 p.m. (Gamble Hall).

**Dec. 13** and **14** big public meetings in Glasgow (St. Andrews Halls) and Edinburgh organised by CND.

**Dec. 18** a Labour-Co-op-Trades Council rally in St. Andrews Hall with Anthony Greenwood as main speaker.

## Combined Universities Campaign survey

A RANDOM sample survey of the nuclear disarmament problem sponsored by the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and covering nearly 5,000 students is currently being held in the following Universities: Aberdeen, Cardiff, Exeter, Newcastle (Kings), Leicester, North Staffs., Nottingham and St. Andrews.

This survey is the result of nearly a year's work. A resolution at CUCaND's last AGM backing such a scheme was followed by a pilot survey held at Manchester University in the spring. This was a preliminary step aimed at testing the questionnaire and assessing administrative difficulties that arise in the carrying out of such a survey.

"Our policy after the pilot scheme was to concentrate on the smaller semi-residential universities where a random sample survey seemed a practical plan," J. Russell Cleaver, the Referendum Organiser told *Peace News*.

Representatives of the university ND groups participating in the survey attended briefing sessions in London where administrative and organisational problems were discussed in detail.

The full results of the survey should be available early in the New Year.

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Among those attending are:

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**Harold F. Bing**, Chairman of the WRI; **Joseph Abileah**, Israel; **Anthony Bishop** (Australia); **Johan Galtung**, leader of "Conflict and Peace Research" section, Oslo University; **Stanley Halliday**, founder of Irish Pacifist Movement; **Ralph Hegnauer**, International Secretary in Switzerland of Service Civil International; **Niels Jonassen**, Chairman of Danish Young War Resisters;

**Jean van Lierde**, Secretary of Belgian War Resistance movement; **Stuart Morris**, General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union; **Alwar Sundell**, MP (Finland); **Hans Konrad Tempel**, Organiser of German Easter March against Nuclear Weapons; **Hein van Wijk**, Chairman Dutch Peace Action; **T. Yamaga**, Secretary of Japanese Anarchist Federation; **R. Lohia**, Leader of Socialist Party of India; **Nana Mahomo**, Representative in Britain of Pan-African Congress; and many leaders of the Gandhian movement in India.

## Meeting in Madras

The plane which has been chartered to take delegates from London arrives in Madras on Dec. 13 at 10.30 a.m. on which day there will be a public meeting in Madras at 6 p.m. Speakers will be **Harold F. Bing**, **Danilo Dolci** and **Hugh Brock**, with **G. Ramachandran**, Secretary of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, in the chair.

Danilo Dolci, Bayard Rustin, Bill Sutherland, and Stuart Morris are expected to be among those present at a WRI press conference in London next Friday.

## DOLCI TO SPEAK IN LONDON

Danilo Dolci and Ilys Booker, a community development worker at Menfi, will speak at a meeting at 108 Baker Street, W.1, on Thursday, Dec. 8, at 7.30 p.m. at a meeting organised by the British Danilo Dolci Committee.

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# WHAT DID GAITSKELL TELL NORSTAD? NATO as a nuclear Power

by EMRYS HUGHES, MP

I WAS not surprised on Monday when Mr. Edward Heath, who now speaks for the Foreign Office, announced that General Norstad had not informed the British Government that he intended making his speech asking for NATO to have nuclear weapons.

Why should he? The Americans regard the British Government as its very humble servant.

And quite rightly so. For hasn't Macmillan handed the Holy Loch over to them for their Polaris base and virtually made it a part of the USA?

After the surrender of the Holy Loch and virtually the Firth of Clyde to America how can one be surprised when the American General in command of NATO comes along with some new proposition without telling the British Foreign Office that he is going to do so?

In reply to my supplementary question Mr. Heath said he was not even going to remonstrate with General Norstad over his failure to tell the British Government about the new proposal and his lapse in assuming that the British Government no longer existed. The Foreign Office will just wait to put the British Government's point of view, if it has one, until the next meeting of the NATO Council.



## 'Missiles' error on Radar

THE world nearly ended last week, according to reports from Greenland. In *The Guardian* last Monday, Michael Frayn wrote in his "Miscellany" column:

was no answer—Thule must have been hit already.

"What restrained Free-World from launching its retaliation weapons during the next half-hour I do not know, unless

## Against Polaris

The US submarine "George Washington" has loaded up with missiles at Charleston, South Carolina, and, followed by a boat with a press party, is heading down river for the open sea. Richard Zink of the Committee for Non-violent Action is about to intercept it, but before the two vessels met a coastguard launch seized the rowing